



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



HN X5D9 E

Br 235.27

Bought  
JAN 10 1908



## Harvard College Library

FROM THE

### BRIGHT LEGACY.

Descendants of Henry Bright, jr., who died at Watertown, Mass., in 1686, are entitled to hold scholarships in Harvard College, established in 1880 under the will of

**JONATHAN BROWN BRIGHT**

of Waltham, Mass., with one half the income of this Legacy. Such descendants failing, other persons are eligible to the scholarships. The will requires that this announcement shall be made in every book added to the Library under its provisions.

Received .....

THE  
NEW YORK  
PUBLIC  
LIBRARY  
ASTOR LENOX  
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS









THE HISTORY  
OF  
THE BRITISH NAVY,  
FROM THE  
EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY C. D. YONGE.

"ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN WILL DO HIS DUTY."



*SECOND EDITION.*

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

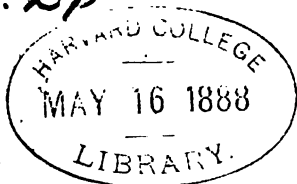
LONDON:  
RICHARD BENTLEY,  
Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty.  
1866.

*The Author reserves the right of Translation.*

1296  
74-3

~~145219~~

Br 235.27



Bright fund.

## CONTENTS OF VOL. III.

### CHAPTER XXXVI.

1812—1814.

War with America—Great size of the American frigates—Attack on the Little Belt—Action between the Belvidere and President—Capture of the *Guerrière*—Of the *Java*—Of the *Macedonian*—Escape of the President—The *Shannon* takes the *Chesapeake*—The *Phœbe* takes the *Essex*—The *Endymion* takes the *President*—Sir John Warren goes as Commander-in-chief to North America—Lieutenant Puckinghorne in the *Rappahannock*—Admiral Cockburn in the *Chesapeake*—Takes Hampton—Operations on the Lakes—We build ships on Ontario—Sir J. L. Yeo commands our squadron—Defeats the Americans—Our Squadron on Lake Erie is destroyed—And on Lake Champlain—Gross misconduct of General Prevost—Sir A. Cochrane succeeds Sir J. Warren—General Ross arrives—Expeditions up the Potomac and Patuxent—Capture of Washington—Destruction of the public buildings—Captain Gordon's expedition to Alexandria—Death of General Ross—Expedition up the Penobscot—Up the Connecticut river—Destruction of gunboats on Lake Borgne—Failure of the attack on New Orleans—End of the war ... .. Page 1

### CHAPTER XXXVII.

1818—1835.

Projects for the discovery of the North-West Passage—Supposed disappearance of ice from the Arctic Seas—Captain John Ross commands the first expedition, which fails—Lieutenant Parry's first expedition—He reaches Melville Island—Winter quarters—His method of passing the winter—Is unable to get to the southward—Returns—His second expedition up Hudson's Strait—Character of the Esquimaux—Talents of Iligliuk—Returns home—Franklin's overland expedition—Great sufferings of himself and Back—Parry's third expedition—Loss of the *Fury*—His expedition to the North Pole—Arrives at the most northern point ever reached—Captain John Ross's second expedition—He explores Boothia—Discovers King William's Land—Commander James Ross discovers the Magnetic Pole—Loss of his ship—He is brought home by a whaler—Back is sent out to search for him—His great exertions—Back's expedition in the Terror—Is tossed about in the ice for ten months—Returns ... 40



## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1839—1859.

Captain James Ross is sent to the southern Seas—Reaches Van Diemen's Land—Violent storms—Auckland Islands—He discovers Victoria Land—Immense rampart of ice—Winters at New Zealand—Goes to Falkland Islands—Examines Tierra del Fuego—Returns home—A new expedition to the Arctic Regions is sent out under Sir John Franklin—Discoveries of Dease and Simpson—Franklin is last seen off Lancaster Sound—Ships are sent in search of him—Sir James Ross's voyage—Expedition of Collinson and M'Clure—The Enterprise returns to Hong Kong—M'Clure discovers the North-West Passage—Winters in Mersey Bay—Sir E. Belcher's voyage—Abandonment of the Resolute and her consorts—The Resolute is saved by the Americans, and presented to the Queen—Collinson's voyage—Expedition of Captain M'Clintock—Fate of Franklin's companions ... .. Page 71

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

1815—1860.

Our wars with pirates—Lord Exmouth in the Mediterranean—Battle of Algiers—Subsequent boldness of the Algerines—French settlement of Algeria—Pirates in the Archipelago—Commander Hope Johnstone destroys a gang near Smyrna—Captain Walcott captures the Zaragoneza—Character of the Malacca pirates—Captain Chads in the Andromache is sent against them—Takes Gallang—And Siak—Crushes the pirates altogether—The Borneo pirates—Sir James Brooke—Captain Keppel is sent to Borneo—Destroys the pirates of the Sarebus and up the Batang Lupar—And up the Undop—And up the Sikarran—Sir W. Parker at Borneo—Captain Talbot in the Songibasar—Sir T. Cochrane at Bruné—Exploits of Captains O'Callaghan, Fellowes, Cresswell, N. Vansittart, E. Vansittart, and Lieutenant Wildman, in the China Seas ... .. 112

## CHAPTER XL.

1817—1840.

Our wars with barbarous nations—With Mocha—Captain Lumley in the Topaz—War with Burmah—Captain Marryatt commands the squadron—Aids in the capture of Rangoon—Captain Chads succeeds Captain Marryatt—Repeated defeats of the Burmese—Captain Alexander succeeds Captain Chads—The squadron ascends the Irrawaddy—Reaches Melloone—Peace—Second Burmese War—Admiral Austin takes Martaban—Capture of Rangoon—Commodore Lambert takes Bassein—Captain Loch at Prome—Capture of Pegu—Action at Donabew—Death of Captain Loch—Peace—Cause of war in South America—Expedition up the Uruguay—Up the Parana—Battle of Obligado—Action at San Lorenzo ... .. 165

## CHAPTER XLI.

1830—1860.

Exertions of Great Britain for the suppression of the slave-trade Captain Broughton takes the *Velo* Passagera—Lieutenant Ramsay takes the *Marinerito*—Commander Denman destroys the barracoons at Gallinas—Commander A. Murray—Sir Charles Hotham—Commodore H. Bruce takes Lagos—Commodore Wise finds the slave-trade at Congo—Blockades the coast—Defeats the Soosos in two expeditions—Commodore Edmonstone takes Porto Novo—Captain Oldfield in the Mozambique ... Page 202

## CHAPTER XLII.

1821—1841.

General condition of Turkey—Insurrection in Greece—Cruelties of Ibrahim Pasha—Convention between England, France, and Russia—The allied fleets arrive at Navarino—Destruction of the Turkish fleet—Encroachments of Mehemet Ali—War between him and the Sultan—Turkey saved by Russia—Mehemet seizes on Syria—A British fleet sent to Syria to aid the Sultan—Commodore Napier at Beyrout—Reduction of all the places on the coast—Sir R. Stopford bombards Acre—Candia submits to the Sultan—Napier at Alexandria—Mehemet Ali submits—Peace 224

## CHAPTER XLIII.

1853—1854.

Circumstances that seemed to favour Russia's designs on Turkey—The Czar declares war against the Sultan—Destroys the Turkish fleet at Sinope—The English and French fleets enter the Black Sea—Captain Drummond at Sebastopol—War is declared—Russian governor at Odessa fires on a flag of truce—Bombardment of Odessa—Loss of the *Tiger*—Captain Tatham at Sebastopol—Sir E. Lyons reconnoitres the eastern coast of the Black Sea—Captain Parker at Sulina—Passage of the army to the Crimea—Battle of the Alma—Fleet goes round to Balaklava—Bombardment of Sebastopol—The Naval Brigade—Storm at Balaklava—Admiral Dundas returns home—Equipment of a fleet for the Baltic—Sir C. Napier is appointed to the command—The Queen visits the fleet—The Admiral's apprehensions—Rear-Admiral Plumridge goes to the Gulf of Finland—The fleet advances towards Hango—Retires—Reaches Hango—Rear-Admiral Corry off *Dager Ort*—Rear Admiral Plumridge in the Gulf of Bothnia—Captain Yelverton at Eckness—Survey of different sounds and plans of all channels—Arrival of the French fleet—Combined fleet off Cronstadt—Uleaborg—Gamla Carleby—Captain Sullivan is sent to Sveaborg—He surveys the Åland Isles—Captain Hall at Bomarsund—Bombardment of Bomarsund—Captain Ramsay's Battery—Captain Scott reconnoitres Abo—General Jones recommends an attack on Sveaborg—Plan examined and rejected—Fleet returns home—Captain Ommanney is sent to the White Sea—Archangel is reconnoitred—Captain Lyons destroys Solovestskoi—Destroys Kola—Squadron at Petropaulovski—Death of Admiral Price—Defeat of the allied squadron—Final escape of the Russians 256

## CHAPTER XLIV.

1855.

Captain Hastings supports the ships when attacked by Liprandi—Captain Giffard on Lake Kouban and Kertch—The Naval brigade works on the railroad—The Russians sink more ships—Nightly bombardment of Sebastopol by the ships—First expedition to Kertch abandoned—Resumption of the design—Lieutenant M'Killop destroys Russian steamers—Destruction of Kertch and Enikale—Captain Lyons in the Sea of Azov—At Taganrog—Death of Captain Lyons—Her Majesty's letter to Sir E. Lyons—He is succeeded by Captain S. Osborn—Great activity of that officer—Loss of the Jasper—Destruction of Gheisk—Bombardment of Sebastopol on the 18th of June—Fall of Sebastopol—Expedition to Kinburn—Destruction of the Russian forts—Admiral R. Dundas appointed to command the Baltic fleet—The Queen visits the fleet at Spithead—Admiral Dundas reconnoitres Revel, Sveaborg, and Cronstadt—Small-pox in the fleet—Infernal machines—Destruction of the Cossack's boat—Captain Yelverton's cruise—Operations in the Gulf of Bothnia—Bombardment of Sveaborg—End of the war ... .. Page 328

## CHAPTER XLV.

1834—1842.

War with China—The *Andromache* conveys Lord Napier to Macao—Captain Price Blackwood arrives in the *Imogene*—The ships force the passage of the Boca Tigris—Peace—Fresh disturbances—Captain Smith routs a flotilla at Chuenpee—Sir Gordon Bremer is sent to China—Takes Chusan—Captain Bouchier captures Amoy—Admiral Elliot takes the command—Sir Gordon Bremer enters the Chukiang—Hong Kong is ceded to us—Capture of the Bogue Forts—The fleet advances to Canton—Captain Herbert penetrates the Macao Channel—Fleet retires—Sir H. L. Senhouse resumes operations against Canton—Gallantry of Commander Warren—Capture of Canton—Sir William Parker takes the command—Capture of Amoy—Of Chinhae and Ningpo—Rout of the Chinese at Tzehee—Capture of Chopoo—Decisive defeat of Chinese at Woosung—Capture of Shanghai—Ascent of the Yang-tse-kiang—The fleet arrives at Nankin—Conclusion of peace ... .. 380

## CHAPTER XLVI.

1856—1858.

Peace for some years—Seizure of the *Arrow*—Resolute policy of Sir M. Seymour—He seizes the Barrier Forts—Takes the Forts opposite Canton—Attacks Canton—Chinese fire-rafts—Commander Fortescue defeats a squadron of war-junks—The Admiral destroys the Bogue Forts—Destroys the French Folly at Canton—Defeats another squadron—Garrisons Macao

Fort—Loss of the Raleigh—Destruction of junks in Escape Creek—Victory in Fatshan Creek—Gallantry of Captain Keppel—Mutiny in India—The Admiral sends troops and marines to Calcutta—Captain Peel organises a Naval Brigade in India—His success—His death—Lord Elgin arrives at Hong Kong—Capture of Canton—Expedition to Gulf of Pecheli—Capture of the Peiho forts—Treaty of Tientsin—Embassy to Japan—Troubles at Canton—Voyage to Hankow—Action with the rebels—Sir M. Seymour returns to England ... .. Page 422

## CHAPTER XLVII.

1859—1862.

Admiral Hope proceeds to the Peiho—His passage up the river is resisted—Attack on the Forts—We are repulsed—Death of Captain Vanaitart—Preparations to retrieve the disaster—English and French armies are sent to China—They land at Pehtang—Capture Pehtang, and the Peiho Forts—The fleet and army advance to Tientsin—Peace with the Emperor—Operations against the Chinese rebels—Conclusion ... .. 465

APPENDIX ... .. 492

INDEX ... .. 503

## DIRECTIONS TO BINDER.

✓ Plan of Bombardment of Acre	...	...	...	...	to face page 250
✓ „ Bombardment of Sebastopol	...	...	...	...	283
✓ „ Bombardment of Bomarsund	...	...	...	...	313
„ Bombardment of Sveaborg	...	...	...	...	373
„ Attack on the Peiho Forts	...	...	...	...	471



# THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH NAVY.

---

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

1812—1814.

War with America—Great size of the American frigates—Attack on the Little Belt—Action between the Belvidere and President—Capture of the Guerrière—Of the Java—Of the Macedonian—Escape of the President—The Shannon takes the Chesapeake—The Phoebe takes the Essex—The Endymion takes the President—Sir John Warren goes as Commander-in-chief to North America—Lieutenant Puckinghorne in the Rappahannock—Admiral Cockburn in the Chesapeake—Takes Hampton—Operations on the Lakes—We build ships on Ontario—Sir J. L. Yeo commands our squadron—Defeats the Americans—Our Squadron on Lake Erie is destroyed—And on Lake Champlain—Gross misconduct of General Prevost—Sir A. Cochrane succeeds Sir J. Warren—General Ross arrives—Expeditions up the Potomac and Patuxent—Capture of Washington—Destruction of the public buildings—Captain Gordon's expedition to Alexandria—Death of General Ross—Expedition up the Penobscot—Up the Connecticut river—Destruction of gunboats on Lake Borgne—Failure of the attack on New Orleans—End of the war.

FOR nearly two years before the conclusion of our long warfare with Napoleon, we had also been carrying on hostilities against the United States of America, which, on the 18th of June, 1812, issued a formal declaration of war against us. The pretext for it arose in some degree out of circumstances connected with our war with France; since the Americans had been grievously irritated by the restrictions which, as a reply to the Berlin Decrees of the French Emperor, we had placed on the trade with neutral Powers. They professed yet greater indignation at the right of searching American vessels for deserters which we claimed and exercised; though there was probably not a



single instance of our having done so in which the act had not been abundantly justified by the men whom we found on board. Their enmity to us was also in all likelihood in some degree sharpened by their sympathy with France, arising out of gratitude for the aid which they had received from her in their War of Independence. For one reason or another, alleged or secret, they had long been wishing and preparing for war with us : and foreseeing that it must be carried on principally at sea, they had been carefully building ships whose size and force, wholly novel for vessels of their nominal rating, were calculated to give them great advantage at the beginning of the struggle. Highly estimating our naval prowess, and the skill of our admirals, they resolved not to measure themselves with our fleets, and therefore equipped no line-of-battle ships ; but they built several frigates scarcely smaller than a British seventy-four, and armed them with fifty-six heavy guns ; those on the maindeck being 24 pounders, and the carronades carrying balls of not less than forty-two pounds. In tonnage and weight of metal an American frigate exceeded the very largest British frigate by one half, and in the number of her crew she nearly doubled her.\* They had good reason for confidence in the result of any engagement between ships so unequally matched. And so eager were the Captains of these frigates to involve the two countries in war, that, above a year before the declaration of war, one of them made a wholly unprovoked attack on a British sloop. In May, 1811, Captain Bingham of the *Little Belt* of twenty guns was sailing towards the south,

\* James gives the following as the armament of the American *Constitution*, 56, and the British 48-gun frigate *Guerrière* :

				<i>Guerrière.</i>		<i>Constitution.</i>
Broadside guns	...	...	...	24	...	28
Weight of metal	...	...	...	517 lbs	...	768 lbs.
Tonnage	...	...	...	1092	...	1533
Crew	...	...	...	244	...	460

And the *Constitution* was less heavily armed than the rest of her class, having only 32-pounder carronades. Her crew, however, in reality amounted to 476.

at no very great distance from the mouth of the Chesapeake, when he perceived a large man-of-war standing out to sea, which, since she did not answer his private signal, and had a commodore's blue pendant flying at the main, he concluded to be an American frigate. He kept on his course, and presently found himself chased by her; a couple of hours more convinced him that he was greatly overpaced, and, as evening was coming on, he prudently lay to and hoisted his colours, that there might be no mistake as to the character of his ship. As the stranger came on she held such a course that Captain Bingham suspected her of an intention to rake the sloop, which he frustrated by wearing three times. And, as soon as she came near enough, he hailed her with the customary question, "what ship it was." She put the same question; and, on being hailed again, fired a whole broadside into the little sloop. Captain Bingham, with prudent foresight, had prepared his ship for action, and at once returned the fire with his double-shotted guns, and for three-quarters of an hour these unequally-matched antagonists maintained a sharp action, in which both vessels apparently sustained about equal damage. Once the American ship was set on fire; while the British sloop had her sails and rigging so cut to pieces by the chain-shot and bar-shot of her assailant, that she became almost unmanageable, and at last fell off so as no longer to be able to bring her guns to bear. The frigate then discontinued her fire likewise, and again hailing the sloop, was informed of her name. The name of the frigate, if it was uttered, Captain Bingham could not make out that night; but the next morning she again hailed him, and sent a boat on board, and then he learned that he had been attacked by Commodore Rogers, of the *President*, 56. The Commodore made many apologies; asserted that he never saw the British colours, though they were at least as visible as the Stars and Stripes at his own masthead, which Captain Bingham saw distinctly as

she bore down; he asserted also that the sloop was the first to fire, a declaration which was not only untrue, but which the size of the two vessels made wholly incredible; and that he thought the Little Belt was a frigate: though to fall into such a mistake would have been, if possible, more discreditable to his professional skill than his attack upon so small a vessel of a country with which his Government was at peace was to his character for honour or humanity. And he invited Captain Bingham into an United States port to repair his damages; an offer which was, of course, refused. Captain Bingham proceeded to Halifax, and the affair for the moment was treated as a mistake. But it had exhibited in the most unmistakeable manner the disposition of the United States to provoke us to a quarrel; since, without such an inclination, there was no reason why the President, a ship belonging to a nation at peace with the whole world, should have fired at the Little Belt, or at any other ship. Explanations were offered by the American Government, and accepted by our own, which, throughout the whole of the preliminary disputes between the two countries, acted with equal moderation and firmness; but, though thus glossed over for the moment, the affair was an unquestionable omen of war; and as such it was looked upon everywhere, and especially in France, where great exultation was expressed at the prospect of this formidable addition to the list of our enemies.

The United States, as has been already said, declared war against Great Britain on the 18th of June, 1812, but till the subsequent spring, the naval operations on both sides were confined to two or three actions between single frigates, in which the vast superiority of size of the American vessels gave them a generally irresistible predominance. They were eager also to add to this advantage that of taking our officers by surprise, attacking them before they could have any knowledge of the declaration of war which the American Congress had issued; and with this view

Commodore Rogers put to sea on the 21st of June with a squadron of three frigates and two sloops. His first essay was unsuccessful. Quick as he was, he found himself too late for a fleet of above a hundred merchantmen, which had left Jamaica for England a day or two before, and, though he did fall in with one of our frigates, the *Belvidera*, 44, commanded by Captain R. Byron, his whole squadron was unable to capture her. Captain Byron was ignorant that war had actually been declared, but he was aware that such an event was probable, and accordingly retreated from so overwhelming a force as he saw advancing towards him. The Americans gave chase, and the *President* was the first to get within shot of the English frigate. The American seamen had for some months been carefully trained in gunnery, and their practice on this occasion was excellent. Our guns, which were pointed by the Captain himself and his lieutenant, were equally well served: after the first three or four shots, the American fire was directed chiefly at our rigging, and the crew of the *Belvidera* showed the greatest activity and skill in repairing every damage almost as soon as it was sustained. When the action had lasted two hours, a second American frigate, the *Congress*, a vessel somewhat smaller than the *President*, but in almost the same proportion, larger than the *Belvidera*, joined her Commodore, and also opened her fire on the English vessel. But Captain Byron cut away most of his anchors and boats, started several tons of water, and still kept ahead of, and even gained on, both his assailants. At last they gave up the chase; and it was afterwards found that the loss sustained by the two ships was as nearly equal as possible. The *Belvidera* had two killed and twenty-two wounded. The *President* had four killed and seventeen wounded. And in the damage done to the vessels themselves the advantage was in no respect on the side of Commodore Rogers.

One of his brother officers, Captain Hull, of the *Consti-*

tuiton, a sister ship of the President, was more fortunate. He had a narrow escape of being captured by a squadron under Captain Broke, of the Shannon ; but, after they had given over chasing him, the 48-gun frigate *Guerrière*, commanded by Captain Dacres, being in a very bad condition, having had her mainmast struck by lightning, and having also exhausted most of her stores, parted company with the squadron, and sailed to Halifax to refit. On the 19th of August, as she was nearing that port, she fell in with the Constitution. Unfit as she now was for a contest with any foe of greater, or even of equal nominal force with herself, Captain Dacres manfully accepted the encounter ; as the Constitution came up, he wore to avoid being raked by her, then hoisted the British colours and opened a rapid fire on her. Knowing his superiority, both in his armament and in the number of his crew, Captain Hull bore down, desirous to engage the *Guerrière* at close quarters ; in a few minutes he shot away his opponent's mizenmast ; and then, placing himself on the *Guerrière*'s larboard bow, raked her severely with his great guns, while the riflemen, of whom he had a number among his crew, swept our decks with a ceaseless fire. At the end of another hour, the other masts of the *Guerrière* fell ; and nearly eighty of her crew were killed or wounded. Any further continuance of the combat would have been a wanton waste of life, so Captain Dacres surrendered. And the gallantry of his resistance, and the complete unfitness for action of his ship, are sufficiently proved by the fact that the victors, gladly as they would have carried such a trophy to New York, found it impossible to keep her above water, but, as soon as they had got the prisoners and wounded men out of her, set her on fire, and destroyed her. More than once it has been necessary to record the rapacity and inhumanity with which officers of the French Republic treated British sailors whom the fortune of war placed in their power : it is even a more

imperative duty to relate, that in this, the first instance in which our men became prisoners to an American captain, they were treated with the greatest humanity. Captain Dacres, in his report of his defeat, eulogises the conduct of Captain Hull and his officers to our men as that of a "brave enemy;" especially mentioning that they took the greatest care to prevent their losing the smallest trifle, and that the greatest attention was paid to the wounded.

This was not the only victory gained this year by the Constitution. In December she fell in with the Java, a vessel of the same size as the *Guerrière*, but inadequately manned with a crew almost wholly unused to the sea and encumbered with a heavy cargo of stores, which she was conveying to India. Captain Lambert, her commander, had remonstrated with the Admiralty on the want of seamanship of his crew; but the authorities trusted to the Java not falling in with an enemy, till a voyage to India should have given her men the practice which they required. This hope was disappointed; and now, when Captain Lambert found a foe before him he advanced to the encounter as gallantly as if he had no cause for dissatisfaction or apprehension. When it was seen to be too unequal a contest while carried on at a distance with the long guns, he even bore down on his antagonist with the intention of boarding her; but his bold manœuvre was frustrated by the loss of his foremast, which was carried away just as he was closing with her. Presently he himself fell, mortally wounded by a musket-ball; and the command of the ship devolved on the first-lieutenant, Mr. H. D. Chads, the same gallant officer who had already won high distinction at the Mauritius, and who now fought the Java till above a hundred and twenty of her men were killed or wounded; and till she herself was so shattered and unmanageable, that the captors were unable to keep her afloat after they had got her, but found themselves compelled to burn her as they had burnt the *Guerrière*.



Another action, the third of the kind which took place this year, terminated with similarly ill-fortune to our arms. The most powerful of all the frigates in the American navy was the *United States*; which had been built with the scantling of a seventy-four, and whose guns threw a broadside scarcely inferior to that of a British ship of that rate. The last week in October, she, cruising a short distance to the southward of the Azores, fell in with the *Macedonian*, a frigate of the same class as the *Guerrière* and *Java*; whose force did not equal three-fifths of her own.\* But, though the disparity between the two vessels was apparent at a glance, the British commander, Captain Carden, was too much impressed with the feeling of his duty to his country to shrink from attacking the enemy. And the bold front which he assumed so daunted the American captain, Commodore Decatur, that at first he kept off, as if desirous to avoid anything but a distant action. Above an hour elapsed before Captain Carden could bring him to close quarters; and, when he succeeded in this object, he found that he had done so to his own destruction. The vast superiority of the American's weight of metal, carried away his mizenmast, all his top-masts, and badly wounded the other lower masts; while above a hundred of his men fell killed or wounded. At the end of something more than two hours, the *Macedonian* was so entirely disabled, as to render it impossible for her to continue the action, and she struck. When her officers were removed on board the *United States* they found, to their astonishment, that they had been defeated by their own countrymen. Commodore Decatur boasted that not one man of his whole crew had served less than five years in a British man-of-war; some of them had even manned Nelson's barge in the *Victory*, but had sadly unlearned the loyalty and patriotism with which that hero

\* The weight of the broadsides of the two were:—*United States*, 864 lbs.; *Macedonian*, 528. The crews:—*United States*, 474; *Macedonian*, 254.

had once inspired them. If, in one sense, it was a comfort to British sailors to know that they had not been overcome by foreigners, such a feeling was more than counterbalanced by the shame which they must have experienced at the disgraceful treason of their former comrades, now from the base thirst for higher pay, turning against their country the valour and the skill which they had learnt in her service.

These, however, were the last triumphs of the kind which the Americans reaped. Our captains, indeed, were not so fortunate as theirs had been, for they were not always able to bring their ships to action when they saw them. The President, in the spring of 1813, crossed over to Europe in search of our Archangel traders, and, on the 19th of July, was, with the schooner Scourge, cruising off the coast of Norway, when they fell in with our 32-gun frigate Alexandria, in company with the 16-gun sloop Spitfire. Unequal as the conflict would have been, Captain Cathcart, the commander of the Alexandria, at once gave chase, and was gallantly seconded by his brother officer, Captain Ellis. Commodore Rogers, though the President was nearly double the size of the Alexandria, fled when pursued; the Alexandria was a very heavy sailer, and would soon have lost sight of the chase, but the little Spitfire outstripping her consort, hung upon the American with the most admirable perseverance, and with such success, that she more than once appeared on the point of getting within gunshot of her. The Scourge escaped by steering in a different direction; our two ships, disdaining to turn aside for her, when in pursuit of a nobler foe, to which their united force would still have been wholly unequal, kept together in pursuit of the President, and it was not till the morning of the 23rd, when the flight and chase had continued for almost four days, that they finally lost sight of the object of their pursuit, and Commodore Rogers considered himself out of danger, and returned to New York to report to his superiors the skill with which he had

escaped from pursuers, which he described as a line-of-battle ship and a frigate.

Another American frigate had worse fortune. It has already been mentioned that Captain Broke, of the Shannon, was the senior officer of a squadron cruising off the North American coast in 1812. He had seen the defeats of our countrymen with the greatest indignation, and burnt with a desire to prove, as he was confident that he and his ship's crew could prove, that the victories gained by the Americans were the result of a preponderance of force, in itself absolutely irresistible; and that a British ship was as superior as ever to any antagonist of equal size. The Shannon was a fine frigate with fifty-two guns, though some were only nine-pounders, and some even smaller; and from the time that Captain Broke took the command of her, he had carefully trained her crew in gunnery, and in every other exercise calculated to make them efficient in the day of trial. It happened that in May, 1813, the American frigate Chesapeake came into Boston while he was lying off that port, with another frigate, the Tenedos, watching the American frigates President and Congress, which, as he knew, were on the point of putting to sea. They eluded him in a fog; and as, after their departure, the Chesapeake was the only vessel fit for service in the harbour, Captain Broke sent away the Tenedos, lest her presence should give the commander of the Chesapeake, Captain Lawrence, an excuse for remaining in port; and then sent a formal challenge to that officer to meet the Shannon "to try the fortune of their respective flags." No ships more nearly equal to one another could have been found in the navies of the two countries. What advantage existed on either side was in favour of the Chesapeake. Her broadside weighed fifty-two pounds more than that of the English ship; her tonnage exceeded that of her antagonist by nearly seventy tons; her crew was the more numerous by a

hundred and ten men;\* a superiority of no small importance in a conflict eventually decided by boarding. Captain Lawrence did not decline the challenge. In the afternoon of the 1st of June, the Chesapeake was seen coming out of the harbour; and the whole populace of Boston had assembled on the pier to witness the combat, and to greet their countryman on his triumphant return. Captain Broke at once brought his ship into a favorable position, and then hove to to receive his assailant. At half-past five the Chesapeake reached him. Neither ship had fired a gun till she came within hail; but then, as the American hauled up on the starboard side of the British frigate, both ships, steering full under their topsails, at the same moment opened their fire. Not more than two or three broadsides had been exchanged, when the superior training of the British gunners began to show itself. The damage they had inflicted on the Chesapeake was already seen in its results. She was no longer steered with the necessary accuracy, but fell on board the Shannon, her mizen channels locking in with the main rigging of our ship. Captain Broke went forward to ascertain her position and condition, and observing that many of her crew were deserting their guns, gave the word to prepare to board. It was eagerly received. As the boarders swarmed up, the Shannon's boatswain, Mr. Stevens, a veteran who had fought in Rodney's great victory at Port Royal, lashed the two ships together, disregarding the sword-cuts which the Americans showered upon him while thus engaged, and which cost him an arm; and, in a moment, Captain Broke himself led his men on to the enemy's deck. The ammunition of the Chesapeake, like that of all the other American frigates, had been curiously made up of novel missiles, such as long bars linked together to cut the

\* The enemy came into action with a complement of 440 men. The Shannon, having picked up some recaptured seamen, had 330.—*Capt. Broke's Letter.*

shrouds of any antagonist ; and with a view to this particular conflict, in which they expected the British sailors to board them, they had had recourse to a contrivance which we ourselves had practised, though in a somewhat different manner, in the time of Henry III., but which had probably never since been seen on board a ship.\* They had prepared a quantity of unslaked lime to cast in the eyes of their assailants ; but they had worse luck with this device than we had had on the former occasion ; for a shot from the Shannon had struck the cask which contained it, and had scattered its contents over its owners. So that, when the Shannon's boarders reached their deck, the Americans found themselves deprived of one resource on which they had reckoned, and had nothing to rely upon but their own strength and courage. A brief but terrible struggle ensued. Broke himself was desperately wounded by a sword-cut on the head, and a still more dangerous blow from the stock of a musket. His clerk fell dead by his side ; his purser too, who, fired with the same enthusiasm that animated his shipmates, had volunteered to take the command of a party, was slain by a musket-shot. In less than five minutes fifty of our men fell ; but the loss of the Americans was far greater. The Chesapeake's maintop was filled with riflemen, but a gallant young midshipman of the name of W. Smith, with a small party, stormed their post, and drove them down ; and then the Shannon's first lieutenant, Mr. Watt, hauled down the stars and Stripes, and hoisted the British Union Jack in its place. It was the last act of the gallant officer ; he had already been severely wounded, and now, while thus engaged, he fell, shot through the head, it is believed by a gun from his own ship, where the men who had been left behind were not aware that the conflict was over. Indeed, some of the American crew, who had fled down the hold, still kept up a fire up the hatchways ; till Captain Broke, who, in spite of his wounds, still remained on deck directing the opera-

\* See vol. i., p. 10.

tions, ordered some of his men to fire down below, on which they surrendered, and the Chesapeake was ours in fifteen minutes from the commencement of the contest. Her loss had been very heavy, and fully attested the gallantry of the crew, and the pre-eminent skill of Captain Broke's arrangements, both during and before the action. Seventy of her men were killed, her Captain, her master, and two lieutenants, being included in the number; a hundred were wounded. The hulls of both ships were severely damaged; the Chesapeake, in spite of the superior thickness of her timbers, being in this respect also the greater sufferer; but, so entirely had both crews agreed in keeping their fire low, that the rigging was almost untouched, and, according to Captain Broke's report, "both ships came out of action in the most beautiful manner; their rigging appearing as perfect as if they had only been exchanging a salute."

It was a very important victory that Captain Broke had gained, not so much in regard of the single prize thus made, as in its moral results, proving, as it did, and as he intended that it should prove, that British sailors, when met by a force only slightly superior to their own, were still as unequalled as ever, and that the disasters of the previous year had been the result of nothing but a disparity of odds which no courage or skill could counterbalance. The British Government showed their sense of its importance by unusual liberality in the rewards they bestowed on the victors. Captain Broke was made a baronet, and the two senior lieutenants who survived were both promoted. The Americans showed their sense of it in an equally significant manner by the care with which they endeavoured to avoid our frigates for the future. The war lasted above a year and a half longer; but in all that time only two more actions took place between frigates of the two countries, and in both the caution displayed by the Americans was justified by our success.



Captain Hillyar in the *Phœbe*, after bearing his share in the capture of the French frigates off Madagascar, had crossed the Pacific to the South American coast, with the 18-gun sloop *Cherub*, Captain Tucker; and in the early part of 1814 was cruising up and down it in search of the *Essex*, an American frigate of as nearly as possible the same size as his own, which had been of late making great havoc among our merchantmen. At the beginning of February he found her in the harbour of Valparaiso with some of her prizes, and a sloop about equal to the *Cherub*, called the *Essex Junior*. For six weeks he watched the harbour in hopes that they would come out and fight him; but Captain Porter, who commanded the *Essex*, though very anxious to get to sea, was resolved, if possible, to avoid an action, and, having been baffled in one or two attempts to escape, lay quiet in his harbour till the 28th of March, when a heavy wind off the shore drove him out to sea, and Captain Hillyar at once stood towards him to bring him to action. As the *Essex* came out a sudden squall carried away her maintopmast, the loss of which contributed to prevent her from regaining the port; so she contented herself with anchoring as near the land as she could, in hopes thus to render it difficult for the *Phœbe* to attack her from a favorable position. The wind, which still blew very freshly for some time, hindered Captain Hillyar from approaching her as closely as he desired, and a lucky shot from his antagonist disabled his mainsail and some more of his rigging; so that two hours and a half elapsed, and daylight was rapidly going down, before he was able finally to close with her. Then he commenced the attack with great vigour, being gallantly seconded by Captain Tucker to the utmost of his power, though the *Cherub* was so much baffled by the calm which was produced by the guns of the two frigates that it was but seldom that she could bring her guns to bear. At the end of three quarters of an hour the *Essex* struck. The

Essex Junior had shrunk from coming out to assist her consort; but she shared her fate, and was taken. It is believed, indeed, that the greater part of her crew had been transferred to the Essex for the battle, and that, before the frigate could be taken possession of, they escaped in their boat to re-join their own ship. Had she come out, she would have removed all appearance of inequality from the battle; though the loss sustained by the Essex had been so severe, and so out of all proportion to that which she had inflicted on our ships, that it is impossible to suppose that her presence would have altered the result. The entire loss sustained by us amounted to eleven killed and wounded in the *Phœbe*, and four in the *Cherub*; while the Essex lost at least sixty-eight killed and wounded, but, by the account of her own captain, almost double that number.

The other frigate action, to which allusion has been made, was still more glorious to the conquerors, since, though the *Endymion*, which gained the victory, was one of a squadron of which others were in sight, she had the battle entirely to herself, and subdued a greatly superior enemy without any assistance from her friends. She was a fine frigate rated at 40 guns, but carrying 48, commanded by Captain Henry Hope, not the least brilliant officer of a family which has hardly been surpassed in the number of the gallant warriors it has furnished to both services of their country; whose chief was at that time of all Wellington's lieutenants the one most esteemed by that sagacious leader; while the very latest achievement that has graced our fleets has been won by another scion of the same gallant race, of whom we shall have to speak in the conclusion of this work. At the beginning of the year the *Endymion* formed one of a squadron with which Captain Hayes, of the *Majestic*, was watching the port of New York, where an American squadron, the principal ship of which was the *President*, now commanded by Commo-

dore Decatur, was lying ready for sea, and bound for the West Indies. Unwilling to try and force his way out at the risk of a battle, the Commodore had ordered his ships to steal out separately as opportunity offered, and subsequently to unite on the open sea; and in pursuance of this plan, he himself, accompanied by the brig Macedonian, on the 14th of January, 1815, took advantage of a storm which blew our ships off the coast, and set sail for his destination. He took, however, the same course in which the wind had driven us; and the next morning he was seen by our squadron, which at once gave chase. The *Endymion* outsailed her comrades, and though the *President* sought to increase her speed by throwing overboard everything which could be dispensed with, after a pursuit of twelve hours came up with her, and brought her to close action. The two frigates had already exchanged some distant shots with their bow and stern-chasers, in which the superiority of the British crew's aim had been very conspicuous; and now, when they came to close quarters, the greater accuracy of their fire more than counterbalanced the advantages which the enemy possessed in every particular of her force. For the *President*, as already mentioned, was one of the largest of the American 50-gun frigates: her broadside outweighed that of the *Endymion* by nearly two hundredweight. Her crew exceeded ours by a hundred and fifty men, and her sides, like those of her fellows in the American navy, were as stout as those of our seventy-fours. Yet, with all these points in her favour, the utmost that she could do was to make a stout resistance. For two hours and a half she maintained a resolute combat, directing much of her fire at the *Endymion*'s rigging, in the hope of thus securing her own escape; but, while inflicting great damage on her opponent's sails, she herself sustained injuries of so much greater importance in her hull, that when, Captain Hope was compelled to drop astern to bend new sails, she

was wholly unable to avail herself of the respite thus afforded her; and, though still continuing her flight, made but little progress. Before midnight the *Endymion* was again rigged, and under full sail, was closing once more with her antagonist, which was quite incapable of making any further resistance, when another British frigate, the *Pomone*, also came up, and fired a broadside at the *President*, which at once surrendered. She had lost above a hundred men killed and wounded, and was so pierced in every part of her hull by the *Endymion's* shot, that when Captain Hope took possession of her he found six feet water in her hold, several of her guns disabled, and her rigging also so much cut, and her masts so severely wounded, that, had not the weather been unusually calm throughout the next day, while our men were engaged in repairing her worst injuries, it would have been impossible to have kept her afloat; fit for service she could never again be rendered; and the state to which she was reduced was equally honorable to both crews, as the most convincing proof of the resolution of the conquered, and of the gallantry and skill of the conquerors.

We have had constant occasion, in our account of the war with France, to record the gallantry displayed by our sailors in boat-attacks upon enemies who sought, by keeping the shore, to protect themselves from our ships. We were often driven to have recourse to the same mode of warfare in America; and one very spirited enterprise, performed by the boats of Sir John Warren's squadron, may bear a comparison with any achievement of the kind on record. Early in 1812 that gallant officer had been sent, in the *St. Domingo*, to the American coast, with authority to propose a cessation of hostilities, and a reciprocal repeal of those Orders in Council and restrictive laws which were the chief subjects of complaint here and in the United States. When these pacific offers were rejected, he prosecuted the hostilities to which he was

compelled with such vigour, that at the beginning of 1813, he was able to send home a list of nearly a hundred and sixty prizes which the few ships under his command had made in the preceding five months. These had been chiefly merchantmen, picked up at sea. But Sir John was resolved to show the Americans that ships of war in their own harbours were in no degree more secure; and, having discovered four armed schooners at anchor at the mouth of the river Rappahannock, he, on the 2nd of April, despatched his first-lieutenant, Mr. Puckinghorne, with the five largest boats the squadron could furnish, to attack them. Two of the boats were armed with a carro-nade a-piece, and their crews together amounted to a hundred and five men. The schooners had thirty-one guns and two hundred and nineteen men. When, after a long pull of fifteen miles, the lieutenant reached them, he found them drawn up in line of battle a-head, and prepared to give him a warm reception. It was plain that the only chance of success lay in taking them in detail, and giving them no time to use their long guns. So he divided his force; against the Arab, of 7 guns, he sent two boats, which at once boarded and captured her; he himself, in like manner, with the St. Domingo's pinnace, carried the Racer, 6, and then turned her guns against the largest vessel of all, the Dolphin, 12; thus keeping up a fierce cannonade on her from one side, while the two remaining boats boarded her on the other. The last vessel, the Lynx, of 6 guns and forty men, dispirited by the capture of her consorts, hauled down her own colours without a struggle; and the lieutenant carried off the whole squadron with a loss of only two men killed and eleven wounded.

Sir John proceeded to prosecute his success. His second in command was Rear-admiral Cockburn, one of Nelson's old captains, who had caught from that honoured chief no small portion of professional fire. He was judi-

ciously despatched by Sir John to cut off the enemy's supplies and destroy their works at the head of the Chesapeake, with some of the smaller vessels of the squadron, and three of the captured schooners which Sir John at once adopted into the service; on the night of the 28th of April, he advanced some way up the river Elk, and then, as it would have been imprudent to take the ships further up the river in the dark, sent forward the boats of the squadron, with a body of marines and artillerymen on board, under command of Lieutenant Westphal, who had also served under Nelson, and had borne his share in Trafalgar, lying wounded alongside his admiral in the Victory's cockpit. In the dark the lieutenant missed his way, and unfortunately proceeded at first up another stream, the Bohemia, which falls into the Elk a little above the point at which he had quitted the ships; and he was consequently unable to reach the magazines, which were the object of attack, before morning; by which time the enemy were fully prepared to receive him, and proved much stronger than had been anticipated; for they had constructed a 6-gun battery in front of the magazines, which commanded the river, and opened a heavy fire on the boats as they approached. The lieutenant replied with his carronades, and presently landed with the marines and stormed the battery, from which its garrison fled at his approach. At daybreak the Rear-Admiral, with his flag in the Fantome sloop, weighed anchor and followed the boats, and, having destroyed the batteries and all the military stores which he could not carry off, advanced to Havre-de-Grace, a fortified town, near which the Americans had a cannon-foundry of some importance. He had given public notice that he desired to spare the peaceful inhabitants of the district; that he was warring only on the Government; that, while he would destroy all fortifications, batteries, and warlike stores, on the other hand, where no resistance was offered, he would do no

injury to private property, but would pay punctually and liberally for all supplies that he might require. He threatened, at the same time, that he would destroy any place that fired on his men. And he acted in strict accordance with both the gentler and the sterner portions of his declaration. At Havre-de-Grace he was assailed with a heavy cannonade, and therefore he exerted against it all the means of destruction in his power. One part of the attack was again committed to Lieutenant Westphal, who conducted it with the same success that had attended him before ; storming the batteries which lay in his way : while Cockburn himself attacked the foundry and demolished it, with forty newly-made cannon which he found in it. At Spesucière Island the inhabitants offered no resistance ; and accordingly he spared the place, and for whatever provisions and cattle he required for the fleet he paid the full value. Proceeding up the Sasafra river, he came to Frederickstown and Georgetown, intending again to confine himself to the destruction of the Government stores ; but at these places he was met by such a vigorous resistance, and such a heavy fire of cannon and musketry, that, when he had put the troops to flight, he destroyed a great part of both towns : and this mingled system of terror and conciliation produced so good an effect, that during the rest of his expedition, he encountered no further opposition ; but the inhabitants came fearlessly and cheerfully to meet him, and offered him supplies with as much confidence as they would have manifested in their own countrymen.

A month later the Rear-Admiral, in conjunction with a small land force under Major-General Sir Sidney Beckwith, dealt the enemy a still heavier blow. The Americans, after their disasters above mentioned, had been a little reanimated by the result of an attack made by us on Craney Island, which had failed through the mismanagement of Captain Pechell, who conducted it, and who, disregarding the fact that the tide was ebbing, advanced till

some of our boats grounded in a position where they were easily destroyed by the batteries on the shore. Thus encouraged, the Americans collected a strong force for the protection of Hampton. Our troops, though far less numerous, amounted to two thousand men, and the superiority of our officers more than counterbalanced the disparity of numbers. General Beckwith had distinguished himself greatly in the Peninsula; and next in rank to him was one who, of all Wellington's pupils displayed at later times the most brilliant military genius, Colonel Charles Napier. Before their arrangements the Americans were easily routed, and the fall of Hampton terminated the operations in that quarter.

Sir John Warren now despatched Cockburn to the coast of North Carolina, where he had almost equal success; but for the remainder of the year our most important naval operations took place on the great lakes, which form so large a portion of the Canadian frontier; and, as Canada was the only one of our possessions which the Americans could attack with the slightest prospect of success, it was natural that they should concentrate their principal offensive efforts on that point. When the war originally broke out we had four or five armed vessels on Ontario, the lake nearest to Quebec; while the Americans had only one, the Oneida brig, of twenty-six guns. To remedy this state of affairs, they at once proceeded to build some vessels at Sackett's Harbour, their principal arsenal on the lake; and by the winter of 1812 they had raised their force to eight vessels, one of which, the Madison, 24, was far larger than the largest of ours. Sir George Prevost, the Governor of Canada at that time, with more sagacity and energy than he was in the habit of exerting, imitated their example, giving orders to build ships, and, as the Canadians were but indifferent sailors, sending to England for men to man them. They were sent; and with them came, as Commodore, Sir James Lucas



Yeo, whose name was already formidable on that side of the Atlantic. It was but the year before, that, as Captain of the Southampton, 38, he had captured the *Amethyste*, 44; though when *Christophe*, the ruler of a large portion of St. Domingo, claimed her as his own, she was restored to him. And, like Captain Broke, he owed his victory to the care with which he had trained his men in gunnery and other warlike exercises. Sir James reached Kingston, our principal harbour on Ontario, in May, 1813. He did not arrive too soon. Ten days before, the American Commodore Chauncey and General Dearborn had made a descent upon our harbour of York,\* had taken the garrison prisoners, and had carried off the *Gloucester*, a 10-gun brig, with a quantity of naval stores. Sir James determined to avenge the affront without delay, and, before the end of the month, sailed with a squadron of six small vessels,† besides gunboats, accompanied by a body of troops under the command of Sir George Prevost himself, to retaliate by an attack upon Sackett's harbour. Our combined force routed an American regiment, and burnt the *Gloucester*, and a large magazine of stores; but Sir George found, or fancied, the enemy too strongly posted in the woods to make it prudent, in his opinion, for our men to attempt to expel them without field-pieces, with which he was unprovided; and the expedition returned to Kingston satisfied with having shown the Americans that, on their own side of the water, their very strongest positions were not impregnable. A week afterwards, on the 3rd of June, Sir James again set sail, with a small detachment of soldiers on board, and obtained still more decisive success. At a place called Forty-mile Creek the enemy had a camp; the larger vessels were unable to approach, but the

\* Now Toronto.

† It consisted of the *Wolfe*, 23; *Royal George*, 21; *Melville*, 14; *Moir*, 14; *Sir Sidney Smith*, 12; *Beresford*, 8; the united crews rather exceeding 700 men.

sloops, Sir Sidney Smith and Beresford, stood in, accompanied by some gunboats, routed them, and captured their camp and stores. In the course of the next day or two the squadron also took several vessels and a large magazine of provisions, which were stored on the shore for the use of the army; and again Yeo returned to Kingston, now to prepare for a sterner conflict.

Throughout the winter the Americans had been busy building the General Pike, a frigate which, though nominally carrying only four more guns than the Wolfe, was in reality nearly equal to the whole of the British squadron. For her guns were all 24-pounders, her crew numbered four hundred men, and in scantling and tonnage she was even more superior to any of our ships. With her, the Madison, the Oneida, and eleven schooners, mounting forty-six guns between them, Commodore Chauncey sailed from Sackett's Harbour at the beginning of August. Hearing that they were in motion, Sir James Yeo quitted Kingston, and on the 8th he found them at anchor off Fort Niagara, a small fortress at the end of the lake nearest to the celebrated Falls. He had still but six ships, which, neither in number of their crews nor in their weight of metal, were equal to two-thirds of the American squadron; but, in spite of this disparity of force, he at once attacked them. They, for a moment, made a show of willingness to meet him fairly, but, after firing a broadside or two, retreated under the protection of their batteries, while the want of a sufficient breeze prevented our ships from closing with them. For a day and night Sir James therefore lay off, watching them that they might not escape him; and on the third day his patience was rewarded with a fresh breeze which bore him down upon them. After exchanging a few broadsides, their whole squadron fled to Sackett's Harbour, leaving two of their schooners prizes, while two more, carrying too much sail in the precipitation of their flight, capsized and sank, with

the loss of nearly the whole of their crews. They did not kill nor even wound a single man on board our squadron; nor is it believed that they lost any themselves, except those who were drowned and those who fell into our hands as prisoners.

On Lake Ontario, therefore, we at last secured a decisive predominance, which we maintained to the end of the war; destroying, the next year, the whole of the enemy's stores collected at Oswego, and building ships of size such as never had been seen on any lake in the world; but it was more than counterbalanced by our disasters on the other lakes, Erie and Champlain, which, however, were in no respect imputable to our naval officers, but solely to the incapacity of the General, who was only saved by death from being called to a severe account for his conduct before a court-martial. On Lake Erie neither side at first had any small vessels, so both began to build some; but the Americans showed so much more energy than ourselves in that work, that before the autumn they had acquired a decided superiority of force, our sole hope of counterbalancing which lay in the courage and skill of our Commodore, Captain Barclay. He quitted his harbour in August, with six\* small vessels armed with 63 guns, hoisting his pendant in the *Detroit*, a newly-launched ship, armed indeed with nineteen guns, but such as were wholly unfitted for service on board ship, having been drawn from the fort at Amherstburgh (our chief arsenal on the lake), which had been dismantled to furnish them. They were also of every variety of calibre, and so defective that the sole mode of discharging them consisted in firing a pistol at the touch-holes. It was a still more irremediable evil that Captain Barclay was wholly unable to man his squadron with competent crews. He besought Sir James

\* They were the *Detroit*, 19, *flag*, Capt. Barclay; The *Queen Charlotte*, 17, Captain Finnis; *Lady Prevost*, 13, Lieut. Buchan; The *Hunter*, 10, Lieut. Bignall; and two very small vessels, the *Little Belt*, and the *Chippewa*, of 2 guns each.

Yeo to spare him some of his men ; but that officer, justly afraid of too much weakening his own force, could not afford him more than a score ; and their arrival did not raise the number of seamen available for the entire squadron to above fifty men. The rest of the crews were made up of three hundred and twenty soldiers and Canadian militia ; brave men, but wholly unskilled in the management of ships, and but little exceeding half the number of the American crews, who were all tried and picked seamen. So manifest indeed was the inferiority of the British squadron in every point, that Captain Barclay would have avoided an engagement till he could procure reinforcements of some kind or other, had not both he and the garrison of Amherstburgh so completely exhausted their provisions, that on the 9th of September they had not flour enough left in store for a single day. Under the pressure of such scarcity he agreed with General Proctor, the Governor of Amherstburgh, that it was indispensable for him to sail forth and engage the enemy, who was eagerly watching for him. The American squadron consisted of nine vessels, armed with guns which, though not quite equalling ours in number, were of a far heavier calibre, and were mostly mounted on pivots, so as to be equally available on either side of the ship. The weight of their united broadsides more than doubled that of ours ; their crews, as has been already mentioned, exceeded ours in the same proportion : so that the American Commodore, Captain Perry, had good reason to be anxious for the encounter ; and yet so brilliant was the skill and courage of Captain Barclay and his brother officers, that they long made victory quiver in the balance ; at first even gaining important advantages, till superior force, aided by a succession of fortunate accidents, turned the scale against them. Our largest vessel, next to the Detroit, was the Queen Charlotte, of seventeen guns, and these two engaged the two chief ships of the Americans ; each of which had

twenty guns of heavier calibre than their own, which were also supported by the most powerful of the schooners. The enemy's schooners too were armed with long 32-pounders, with which they were able to cannonade our ships, and at the same time to keep out of reach of any return. They had also the weather-gage, so that they were able to choose their own position, and also their distance. Nevertheless so vigorous and, in spite of every disadvantage, so successful were Captain Barclay's exertions, that his own ship subdued her antagonist. The *St. Lawrence* struck, and Captain Perry quitted her to seek safety in another ship. But this advantage was soon wrested from us. Presently, Captain Barclay fell dangerously wounded, his first-lieutenant was killed, and, seeing that the *Detroit* was too much crippled to take possession of her prize, Captain Perry returned on board the *St. Lawrence* and rehoisted his colours. Captain Finnis in the *Queen Charlotte*, 14, commenced the action with as much energy as his leader; but he was killed in the early part of it, and the command of the ship devolved on his lieutenant, Mr. Irvine, who was a militia officer unused to the management of a ship. Lieutenant Buchan, the commander of the *Lady Prevost*, 13, was also early disabled by a severe wound. The commander of the *Hunter*, 10, Lieutenant Bignall, was equally unfortunate; and thus the only vessels which had force sufficient to make their resistance formidable were all deprived of their commanders, and had no one able to supply their places. Presently, in attempting to wear to avoid the raking fire of the schooners, the *Detroit* fell on board the *Queen Charlotte*; and the American Captains made a skilful use of their helpless position, pouring an incessant fire into them till they were reduced to a state little better than that of perfect wrecks. After a gallant struggle of upwards of three hours, they were both compelled to surrender; in a short time the smaller vessels followed their example, and the whole

squadron was taken possession of by the Americans. The gallantry with which our men had fought was proved by the fact that, out of an entire force of little more than three hundred and fifty men, a hundred and thirty-five were killed or wounded. And again we must record, to the honour of the American officers, that Captain Barclay in his despatch acknowledged that he himself and the other wounded men had been treated by them with the most generous humanity.

Captain Barclay at the same time expressed a hope that, unfortunate as the result of the action had been, it would not be thought that the honour of the British flag had been tarnished. And in this opinion all must agree: but the same judgment can hardly be pronounced on a similar disaster which the next year befell us on Lake Champlain; though the chief part of the disgrace, as has been already intimated, fell solely on the General to whose mismanagement and vacillation it was owing. The other lakes were looked upon as belonging in equal portions to the two contending nations; but Lake Champlain was almost wholly American. We, however, had a small squadron, consisting of three brigs and schooners and a few gunboats, on its waters, whose head-quarters was the small isle Aux Noix; and, in August 1814, we also launched a frigate, the *Confiance* of thirty-seven guns, but even she did not render our force nearly equal to that of the Americans. For they had four ships and ten gunboats of a very heavy armament: their broadside outweighing ours in more than the proportion of three to two; while the difference in their tonnage and in the number of their crews, was still more in their favour. So that, had he been left to his own judgment, Captain Downie, our Commodore, an officer of great professional excellence, would certainly not have sought a conflict with a force to which his own was so manifestly and so vastly inferior. But Sir George Prevost had long

professed an earnest desire to strike a blow at the American arsenal at Plattsburg, on the north-western border of the lake; the practicability of such an enterprise had recently been greatly increased by the arrival from Europe of several regiments, the flower of that matchless army with which Wellington had fought his conquering way from Lisbon to Toulouse; and, as soon as the *Confiance* was afloat, Sir George urgently pressed Captain Downie to unite with him in a joint attack on Plattsburg; promising to co-operate with his whole army, and to storm the works with his troops at the same moment that Captain Downie should fall upon the American squadron then lying at anchor in the bay. Though the *Confiance* could not yet be pronounced fit to sail, her guns not having been got into working order, and her crew not having had time to become acquainted with their officers, or with one another, Captain Downie, relying on the General's promise, agreed to his proposal; and, though it was only on the preceding day that the frigate's rigging had been got up, and that the shipwrights had finally quitted the ship, he sailed forth on the 11th of September, to bear his part in the proposed operation. He found the enemy skilfully and strongly posted in line of battle, with the gunboats on each flank. He adopted a similar formation himself; and sailed towards them. As he led his squadron in the *Confiance*, she was received with a very warm fire, which he forbore to return by a single gun till he had anchored. From the lightness of the wind, he was unable to approach as near to the enemy as he had intended; but by great exertions he brought up his ship within four hundred yards of them; and, as soon as he had cast anchor, he returned their fire with as vigorous a cannonade as could be expected from the unorganised state of his crew. He was gallantly supported by his second in command, Captain Pring, in the *Linnet*. She had only sixteen 12-pounders; but with her Pring gallantly assailed the *Eagle*,

the smallest of whose twenty guns carried balls of eighteen pounds, while the chief part of her armament consisted of 32-pounder carronades. The other vessels were so much smaller, that the rest of the enemy's squadron, disregarding them, directed their whole fire upon the *Confiance*; to which her inexperienced crew, with all their exertions, could make but an ineffective return. Upwards of forty of them, including their gallant Captain, were slain; an equal number were wounded; and at last, Lieutenant Robertson, on whom the command of her had devolved, had no resource but to strike his colours. The greater part of our gunboats, which from the first had kept aloof from the battle, now fled in shameful disorder. The *Chubb*, the vessel next in size to the *Linnet*, had her cables shot away, and, drifting among the enemy's line, was compelled to surrender. So that the whole squadron of the enemy had now leisure to throw their united force against the *Linnet*, as they had previously directed it on the *Confiance*; and Captain Pring was soon compelled to surrender. The remaining vessel, the *Finch*, 8, shared his fate; and thus the Americans became masters of this second squadron.

The General, whose earnest entreaties had tempted the unfortunate Captain Downie to undertake the enterprise, not only wholly failed to keep his promise himself, but actually recalled a division of his army which, led by Major-General Brisbane, without waiting for his orders, had attacked and carried a portion of the enemy's works, and had taken some prisoners. And Sir James Yeo, as the naval officer on the station, reflected on Sir George severely in his despatch, and was preparing to prosecute him before a court-martial, when, fortunately for him, he died, and so escaped a verdict and a sentence which must have covered his memory with indelible disgrace.

The restoration of peace in Europe, which set our soldiers at liberty for operations in America, enabled us also to add to our naval force on that station. Sir John Warren, who was beginning to feel the inroads of age,



had solicited his recall, and was replaced by Sir Alexander Cochrane ; and with the new Admiral arrived some of the captains that had been so splendidly sustaining our renown on the coasts of France and Italy. Sir Thomas Hardy (Nelson's Hardy) came in a line-of-battle ship, the *Ramilles*, 74 ; Captain Gordon and Captain Napier came in the frigates *Seahorse* and *Euryalus* ; and these two latter successfully achieved one of the most brilliant and difficult naval exploits that at that time had ever been attempted by ships of their size. At the same time that Sir A. Cochrane quitted Europe to assume the chief command, another squadron under Rear-Admiral P. Malcolm had embarked some English regiments under General Ross, and conducted them also to America, where they arrived safely, reaching the Chesapeake on the 14th of August, 1814. At the beginning of June, Rear-Admiral Cockburn had penetrated some distance up the bay, and had sent Captain Barrie of the *Dragon*, 74 (who had had the charge of maintaining the blockade of the Chesapeake throughout the past winter), with the boats of the squadron, and one or two of the smaller vessels, up the Patuxent to attack a powerful flotilla, consisting of a 9-gun sloop and sixteen heavily-armed gunboats, under command of Commodore Barney, one of the ablest of the American officers. Captain Barrie destroyed a large portion of them ; and in July, Cockburn himself, with a similar force, penetrated up the Potomac, and others of the Virginian rivers, and destroyed another flotilla, and a great quantity of military stores which he found at different towns on the banks. But as soon as General Ross had landed with his troops, the ships began to co-operate with him : Cockburn himself destroyed the rest of Commodore Barney's squadron ; and then pointing out to the General how completely the flank of his little army was secured by that operation, urged him at once to march upon Washington. General Ross adopted the suggestion, and accompanied by the Rear-Admiral and a small naval brigade, on the morning of the 24th of

August, utterly routed an American army of more than double his own number at Bladensburg ; and on the evening of the same day, entered the capital. For the first, and it may be hoped for the last time, a British army made a barbarous use of its victory. The discredit does not belong to it or to its gallant chief, but to the Government, who, before the expedition sailed, had commanded the destruction of the public buildings of the city. Even Napoleon, who had waged war with an unscrupulousness of which Christendom had seen no example for many generations, had committed no act so ruthless ; but had been content with pillaging without destroying ; but now in obedience to his strict orders, General Ross set fire not only to the arsenals, the dockyard, and the rope-walk, the destruction of which was justifiable enough, but to the Capitol, the Senate House, the House of Representatives, and the President's Palace. The act proved as impolitic as it was unjustifiable ; since the fate of the city, which all Americans held in so much honour, impelled the citizens of other towns which were attacked to a most desperate resistance.

Not expecting such rapidity of success, Sir A. Cochrane had been preparing to give the General a more effective support than could be furnished by Cockburn and his boats' crews ; and with this view, on the 17th of August, he had sent the Seahorse and the Euryalus with three or four bombships and rocketships up the Potomac, to reach Washington from that side, while the army should come upon it from the other. The river was known to be navigable for frigates as high as the city ; since vessels of that class had been built at Washington, which had afterwards descended to the sea ; but it was also known that the navigation was most difficult, the channel in many places being extremely narrow, and being also at one spot almost blocked up by a series of extensive and intricate shoals, composed of oyster-banks of various dimensions, and, from the shape of many of them, known as

the Kettlebottoms. So great, indeed, were the difficulties of the passage, that the American frigates had never ventured to attempt it with their guns on board, and even when lightened to the utmost possible degree, had usually taken several weeks in effecting it. It was therefore no light task that was imposed on Captain Gordon and Captain Napier; and they soon found out its peculiar dangers. Boats ahead were kept carefully sounding every inch of the way; and, as each ship was steered as exactly as she could be steered in the wake of her leader, it seemed as if, where one had passed, the rest could follow with safety. Yet the squadron had hardly reached the Kettlebottoms, when the *Euryalus* struck where the *Seahorse*, a larger ship, had discovered no impediment. It was not easy to make out on what she had struck: there was deep water round her on every side; and it was not till a diver was sent down, who found an oyster-bank not bigger than a boat directly under her bilge, that Captain Napier could ascertain in what direction to get her off. Presently the *Seahorse* grounded too; and it proved necessary to lighten her considerably before she could be floated. And, before the Kettlebottoms were passed, nearly every ship in the squadron ran aground, in spite of the most careful and skilful soundings.

They had hardly cleared these shoals when the wind, which had hitherto been fair, changed; and they could only proceed by warping; an operation of necessity so slow that four days were consumed in advancing fifty miles; and on the evening of the fifth day, when they had just reached Maryland Point, they were forced to apprehend that they should be too late to share in the glory of the capture of the capital, since the sky in the direction of that city was illuminated by a reflection of flame proceeding, as they rightly conjectured, from the conflagration of the buildings which General Ross was burning. After a brief deliberation, however, Captain Gordon resolved to proceed. A day or two afterwards a storm fell on the

squadron, which, in spite of the shelter afforded by the land, damaged the spars of both the frigates, and drove one or two of the smaller vessels aground. But the damage thus caused was easily repaired. Presently the wind went down, and at the same time changed its direction and became fair; and for the first time the squadron now began to proceed easily and rapidly on its way. It reached Fort Washington, the only stronghold capable of delaying its progress below Alexandria, and prepared for a bombardment and an assault, which Captain Gordon did not expect to prove an easy task: but the bombvessels had scarcely taken up their position, and thrown a few shells, when the garrison fled, having first set fire to the powder magazine, which presently blew up with an explosion that destroyed all the interior buildings of the fort. When the seamen took possession they found ample reason to congratulate themselves on the faint-heartedness of their foes, for the fort was armed with four heavy batteries, mounting between them twenty-seven heavy guns; and, had a resolute resistance been offered, could hardly have been subdued without serious loss of life and great probability of injury to the ships.

The city of Alexandria, left wholly defenceless by the destruction of the fort, now sent commissioners to Captain Gordon to treat for its surrender. He declined giving any answer till he had placed the squadron in a position which should compel assent to all his proposals; and, on the morning of the 27th, having brought it abreast of the town, he demanded the surrender of all the shipping, amounting to upwards of twenty vessels, of all naval, military, and ordnance stores, and of all merchandise. On these terms he guaranteed the safety of the town and of all the inhabitants; and, as soon as the city council had accepted them, he at once prepared to return. As the army had already made itself master of Washington, no end could be served by advancing thither; and Captain

Baker, who had followed the squadron in the *Fairy* with additional orders from the Admiral, had brought word that the Americans were raising batteries down the stream, and adopting all practicable measures to delay and attack the squadron on its way back. As we ascended we had buoyed the stream so carefully that, in retracing our steps, many of the difficulties previously experienced were removed : but it was plain that no time was to be lost ; and while loading the frigates with the stores which he had decided on carrying off, Captain Gordon sent forward a gunboat and the *Meteor* bomb, to check the formation of the works, of which the *Fairy* had brought intelligence. They found one strong battery already finished, and armed with eleven guns ; and as the squadron approached, moving slowly, since the wind, which had not changed since it bore them up to Alexandria, was now foul, and compelled them again to have recourse to warping, one of the bombvessels grounded, and the enemy made a bold attempt to burn her with fireships, which was repelled with difficulty, and not without some loss of life. Fortunately, on the 8th of September, the wind again became fair, so that from that time we passed on rapidly, being only interrupted by one battery, which, supported by a strong body of sharpshooters in the surrounding woods, opened a vigorous fire on the leading ships. The battery was soon silenced by the frigates : the sharpshooters did us more damage, and were more persevering. Captain Napier himself was wounded by a musket-ball in the neck ; and, from one species of attack and another, we lost in all rather more than forty killed and wounded. Had we delayed a single day longer, our losses must have been far more severe, since some heavy batteries a little lower down were on the point of completion, and the ammunition to arm them was on its way, but had only partially arrived when our last vessel passed. Henceforth the only mishaps arose from some of the vessels again grounding on the shoals, but they were easily got afloat ; and on the twenty-third day from the first departure

of the squadron up the river, it again cast anchor at its mouth, having performed a feat which, of all our exploits during the whole war, most disheartened the enemy, by the proof it afforded of the indomitable energy of our sailors, which could thus overcome obstacles which Nature herself seemed to have opposed to their progress.

The squadron had hardly got clear of the Potomac when the greater portion of it, indeed all except the Seahorse, was despatched up the Patapsco, another of the numerous rivers which fall into the Chesapeake Channel, to co-operate with the army in an attack on Baltimore. The attempt was abandoned, chiefly in consequence of the unfortunate death of the General, who was shot by an American skirmisher while advancing on foot to reconnoitre the ground on the bank of the river; but not before Captain Napier, with a large party of boats, had pushed so far up the river as to have almost ensured the success of the attempt, had it been made. And while these operations were being carried on below, another expedition, under Rear-Admiral Griffith and General Sir John Sherbrooke, Governor of Nova Scotia, proceeded to the Penobscot, up which river the Americans had a considerable force, both of ships and land-batteries. As the larger vessels could not ascend the river, Captain Barrie, to whom the conduct of the attack was entrusted, quitted his own line-of-battle ship, the Dragon, for the 18-gun sloop Sylph, and with her, the Peruvian brig, a tender and a transport, having a small body of troops on board, penetrated as far as Hamden, a fortified town twenty-seven miles up the river. Besides its fortifications it was protected at this time by a 26-gun frigate, the Adams, which had sought refuge there, and by a land-force of fourteen hundred men, which had taken up a strong position on a hill commanding the town; but the British soldiers, as as soon as they were landed, stormed the hill; the boats opened a heavy fire of grape on the fortifications, and the

enemy fled in every direction, having first set fire themselves to the frigate and to two other armed vessels in the harbour. The town and its garrison, consisting of Brigadier-General Blake and a hundred and ninety-one men, surrendered, and Captain Barrie returned to the Admiral with twelve prizes, and a vast quantity of ordnance ammunition and military stores, having achieved this success with no greater loss than that of one man killed and eight wounded.

These were not the only rivers which failed to protect those who sought refuge in them. In the spring Commander R. Coote, of the 14-gun brig Boxer, with the boats of a small squadron under the command of Captain Capel, the officer who had formerly carried home Nelson's despatch announcing the victory of the Nile, penetrated up Connecticut river, and destroyed three privateers, twenty-four other vessels, and a large quantity of naval stores; and a month or two later, Lieutenant Garland, with the boats of the Superb and Nimrod, attacked a town called Wareham, at the head of Buzzard's Bay, in the same district, destroyed about an equal number of vessels, and secured his retreat, in spite of a large body of militia which, on the first alarm of his doings, had collected to intercept him, by carrying off the principal inhabitants of the town, and making them, as it were, hostages for the safety of himself and his comrades.

The only failure, with the exception of our disasters on the lakes, which we met with in the latter period of the war, was at New Orleans; but even there the fleet performed brilliant service, such as would have ensured the success of the whole expedition, had not our military force been not only inadequate to the enterprise, but crippled also by the death of its gallant General, Sir E. Pakenham, who fell at the most critical moment of the battle. To co-operate with Sir Edward, Sir A. Cochrane moved down himself to the Louisiana coast. Before he arrived we had lost one ship, the *Hermes*, 20, Captain Percy, which, in an

attack on Fort Bowyer, a very strong fortress near Mobile, had run aground in a position where she could neither be got off nor could return the fire of the enemy's heavy guns. Captain Percy therefore removed his men to the other ships of the squadron, and set fire to her. But this unfortunate accident had no effect on the operations before New Orleans, which, from the moment of his arrival, the Admiral carried on with great energy, selecting his officers for the different parts of the enterprise with a judgment which, of itself, almost ensured success. He had already despatched Captain Gordon with his own frigate, and one or two other vessels, to watch the entrance of the harbour; and, when he joined them himself, he learnt that some of them had been fired upon by a powerful flotilla of gunboats lying among the Chandeleur Islands, which had since retired into Lake Borgne, and were still visible from the Seahorse's masthead. As it was intended to land the army at the head of the lake, and as our principal means of conveying it thither from the ships were confined to open boats, it was indispensable to capture or destroy this flotilla before the troops could be moved. Accordingly, as soon as Rear-Admiral Malcolm arrived with the rest of the fleet, Sir Alexander placed all the largest under the command of Commander M. Lockyer of the *Sophie*, and sent them against it. The mere approach to it was no easy task, for the men had to pull for thirty-six hours, working from the evening of the 12th of December to the morning of the 14th almost without interruption; and they would have had a still longer toil, but fortunately the state of the wind prevented the gunboats from retreating, as they attempted. The force under Captain Lockyer's orders was far from insignificant, consisting, as it did, of upwards of forty boats, some of the largest of which had carronades on board, while their crews fell but little short of one thousand men: yet, when he arrived near enough to estimate the strength of the enemy to be attacked, he found them



so numerous and so powerfully armed as to task the exertions and courage of his men to the utmost. For, moored in a line abreast, with springs on their cables, and their boarding-nettings triced up, lay a sloop and five gunboats of the very largest size, carrying between them forty-four heavy guns, supported also by some batteries on the shore, and well manned with a commander and crews fully prepared for the attack. For an hour Captain Lockyer lay to, just out of gunshot, to give his men a brief rest and time for breakfast; and then they resumed their oars, and, through a ceaseless and well-aimed fire of round-shot and grape, again pulled in three divisions rapidly towards the enemy. The gunboat of the Commodore, Lieutenant Jones, had nine heavy guns, and a crew of forty-five men. Her Captain Lockyer selected as his own prize; and, after a desperate resistance, in which he himself was severely wounded, and from which scarcely any of his boat's crew escaped entirely unhurt, he, aided by other boats of his division, which came up while the contest was going on, boarded and carried her, and immediately turned her guns against her former consorts. The commanders of the other divisions, Captain Montresor and Captain Roberts, had equal success; and, in five minutes from the time that our boats got alongside, the whole flotilla, except one sloop, was in our possession. She had been detached from her comrades to destroy a quantity of valuable stores collected at another point of the bay, lest they should fall into our hands; and her crew had hardly set fire to the warehouses which contained them, when they were overtaken by a division of our boats, and forced to burn their own vessel also. The achievement had cost us dear: above ninety of our men had been killed or wounded; but it had given us the entire command of Lake Borgne, and had thus secured to us the safe disembarkation of the army, which though delayed for a brief space by unfavourable weather, was effected before Christmas without opposition and without

loss. That the attempt on the city of New Orleans proved unfortunate was not the fault of the fleet, which had performed their portion of the work with unvaried success, and which aided the soldiers with a naval brigade under Captain Sir Thomas Troubridge. He was the son of the gallant and lamented Admiral, and his own exploits in the *Harrier* have been already mentioned in an earlier chapter of this work ; and, by the acknowledgment of the generals under whom he now served, the courage and skill which he displayed were in accordance with his former exploits and with his father's fame.

It subsequently proved that, except as an exhibition of our power, the capture of New Orleans would have been of no benefit to us, since, a fortnight before the repulse of our troops, peace had been signed at Ghent ; and it was ratified at Washington in the course of the succeeding month of February. The war had certainly not been productive to us of uninterrupted success, nor of unvaried credit ; but its general tenor had conclusively shown the want of judgment in the Americans who had dragged us into it : having but few points in which they could injure, or even assail us, while their trade and their vast seaboard, too extensive to be protected by any fleet which they could ever collect, lay wholly at the mercy of our numerous and enterprising squadrons. The merchantmen captured by our ships off the American coast, during the two years that the war lasted, fell little short of a thousand : their harbours were entered, their batteries defied and disabled ; their very capital was taken. Nor perhaps does any circumstance in our modern history more clearly show the unaggressive nature of our general policy, and the purely defensive character of our wars ; since, almost invariably victorious as we have been, Washington was the first metropolis of Christendom that we had entered as conquerors for at least four centuries.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

1818—1835.

Projects for the discovery of the North-West Passage—Supposed disappearance of ice from the Arctic Seas—Captain John Ross commands the first expedition, which fails—Lieutenant Parry's first expedition—He reaches Melville Island—Winter quarters—His method of passing the winter—Is unable to get to the southward—Returns—His second expedition up Hudson's Strait—Character of the Esquimaux—Talents of Nigliuk—Returns home—Franklin's overland expedition—Great sufferings of himself and Back—Parry's third expedition—Loss of the *Fury*—His expedition to the North Pole—Arrives at the most northern point ever reached—Captain John Ross's second expedition—He explores Boothia—Discovers King William's Land—Commander James Ross discovers the Magnetic Pole—Loss of his ship—He is brought home by a whaler—Back is sent out to search for him—His great exertions—Back's expedition in the *Terror*—Is drifted about in the ice for ten months—Returns.

As we have seen it happen before, the cessation from war let loose the energies of the nation on voyages of discovery ; and the object of search now was not so much a new country as a new and shorter path to lands already established as seats of commerce and storehouses of wealth and power. Indeed, the labours of former navigators had explored the temperate zones of North and South so thoroughly that there was scarcely a possibility that any land calculated to invite a settler or a merchant could remain still unknown in any part of the globe ; but the belief that the long voyage to India and China round the southern extremities of Africa or America might eventually be superseded by the discovery of a northern path had gained ground of late years. The existence or non-existence of such a passage, as has been already intimated, had been the problem which, more than any other, for the last two centuries and a half had engaged

the attention of British navigators. Frobisher had laid the foundation of his fame by the voyages which he had undertaken for its solution. A constant succession of adventurers had followed in his steps; some of whom, like Davis, Hudson, and Baffin, if, as we have seen, they failed in their principal enterprise, had at least won that renown which was perhaps not the least of their objects, stamping their name indelibly on different channels or shores which they had been the first to discover. Long after their time, Cook had gone forth on the same mission. He, as we have seen, was stopped by the ice in the first year of the expedition. After his death, his successor in the command, Captain Clerke, was driven back by the same obstacle; and the report which he delivered on his return home, coupled with Cook's unhappy fate, though that calamitous event was wholly unconnected with the perils of the Arctic Seas, made so great an impression on the nation at large, that his idea of the impracticability of a north-western passage was for a time tacitly adopted, and the next efforts of our explorers were turned into a wholly different direction.

Probably, had commerce alone been supposed to be interested in the matter, the question would still have been allowed to sleep; since the difficulties which had been ascertained to exist were such as to make it very doubtful whether, even if a path by sea along the northern coast of America were to be found, such a passage could ever possess that certainty and regularity which, of all things, are the most essential to purposes of trade. But it was a subject of deep interest also to more than one scientific body. The Geographical Society looked upon an accurate knowledge of the northern boundary of the American continent as an object of great importance. Investigators of the science of magnetism reasonably expected valuable light to be thrown on their pursuit by observations taken in a region as yet wholly unknown, and so close to the Pole. And at this particular moment there seemed reason to believe

that many of the difficulties which had obstructed the progress of former navigators would be found to be greatly lessened, if not wholly removed. In the year 1817, the captains of whalers and others, whose occupations took them to the Northern Seas, reported that the ice had almost disappeared from the coast of Greenland; and that the sea was open even as high as the eightieth degree of north latitude; while huge fields of ice had been met floating down as far as the Spanish coast, as if permanently dislodged from their old resting-places, which their departure had thus left clear for the enterprise of fresh explorers. A statement of these objects and these arguments easily induced the Admiralty to despatch an expedition to renew the attempt which had so often failed. And for many years the investigation of the Northern Seas was carried on with almost unremitting perseverance, embellished by a degree of talent and courage which would have shed a lustre even on failure; but which was finally rewarded by success which might well be termed complete, could we leave out of our consideration the valuable lives which have been lost in achieving it.

The moment that it was known that an expedition with this object was to be sent out, there was no lack of hardy and skilful seamen seeking to be employed in it. Yet it was no pleasant nor easy service that lay before those who now offered themselves. It has been often said, and with truth, that Peace has her triumphs no less than War. But they have usually been, not only of a less brilliant and attractive, but of a wholly different character; have been won by the exercise of far different and less heroic qualities. But the successes achieved by our Arctic adventurers called forth, and are the more highly prized by the nation that they did so call forth, the very same talents and virtues which had established our naval supremacy in time of war. And they even displayed some of those virtues in a still stronger light: the sailors of the *Fury* and the

Terror did not, indeed face danger or woo renown at the cannon's mouth ; they did not risk their lives in the brief peril and rapturous excitement of battle and victory ; but with deliberate courage they confronted for months and years the certain, daily, hourly peril of a navigation among unknown seas, of which all the knowledge that could be acquired only augmented the horror. They went forth voluntarily to endure cold, and darkness, and hunger ; cold, of which no language can give an idea to those who have not felt it ; darkness, faintly described by the statement that for three months together they never beheld the sun ; hunger, which even when appeased, was often relieved only by food that at home the meanest among them would have accounted loathsome and disgusting. Their dangers again were not limited to the ordinary risks of wind and wave. Besides these, there was the fearful ice : sometimes threatening to crush ships and crew in its irresistible embrace ; sometimes hurrying them along they knew not whither ; their nautical skill useless ; their trusted guide, the compass, no longer to be confided in. Death staring them in the face on every side ; and life, while it was spared to them, bereft of all pleasure, ease, or comfort ; of all, in short, that can make life desirable, save the one proud consciousness that they were doing their duty to their country in the way in which she had chosen that it should be done.

A sketch of an Arctic voyage must differ greatly, it may almost be said wholly, from one of such as have been undertaken in more favoured climes. The explorer of regions buried in almost eternal frost, in which no industry or ingenuity can raise the most quickly growing crop ; where the hardy pine itself is unable to raise its head ; and the productiveness of the soil is limited to one or two medicinal herbs ; where man cannot even always discern which is sea and which is land, so deep, so unbroken, and so unvaried is the mantle of ice and snow under which

for the greater part of the year, both are concealed ; has little to relate in common with him whose path lies amid sunny islands, radiant with flowers, fragrant with fruits and spices ; whose fertile soil and delicious warmth have at times, as we have seen, tempted British sailors themselves to desert their country and their duty for the long luxurious holiday, where, if anywhere, Providence appears to supply man's wants, and even his wishes, without requiring any exertion on his part.

The first of this new series of Arctic expeditions sailed from England in the spring of 1818, under Commander John Ross, an officer of considerable reputation in his profession ; but, as every one else was at that time, wholly destitute of experience in a service of so peculiar a character as that in which he was now engaged. So general, indeed, was the ignorance which then prevailed respecting the Arctic Seas, that the members of the Board of Admiralty who drew up his instructions, evidently thought it probable that he would be able to reach Behring's Straits by the end of the summer. The expedition wholly failed ; it returned to England in the autumn, never having got beyond Baffin's Bay. Another expedition despatched at the same time, under Captain Buchan, to discover the North Pole, equally missed the attainment of its object ; and so barren of results were both, that it would hardly seem necessary to mention them at all, were it not that among those who bore a share in them were two men whose subsequent labours in the same field have rendered their names among the most eminent of such voyagers, Lieutenant Edward Parry, and Midshipman James Ross, whose observant genius well qualified them to derive profitable lessons from the present failure, and who probably owe no small part of the success which they subsequently achieved to the experience which they now acquired.

Parry had on this occasion been the second in command to Captain Ross ; but he had shown such energy and

capacity in that subordinate situation, that, when the next year the Admiralty decided on renewing the attempt to discover the North-West Passage, they entrusted the command to him. And, in the course of the next seven years, he thrice quitted England in the hope of proving the instrument to accomplish the object to which every succeeding failure seemed only to lend additional attraction. For in each attempt he too failed, though in each he added greatly to the stock of knowledge possessed concerning the regions to which he was sent ; having penetrated further towards the west than any one has ever yet done who entered the Arctic Seas at Davis's Straits. On each of his voyages, as on that of Captain Ross, two ships were employed, that, in case of an accident to one, her crew might not be without succour ; and in the third voyage this precaution proved the preservation of Parry himself, who was compelled to abandon his own ship, the *Fury*, and to avail himself of the services of her consort, the *Hecla*, to convey himself and his men to England. The seconds in command were Lieutenant Liddon, Commander Lyon, and Commander Hoppner, in succession ; and each in his turn proved a comrade on whose support Parry could well rely in hours of danger.

Dangers surrounded him from the very first ; for the voyagers had scarcely entered Baffin's Bay before they were surrounded with thick fogs : though the other perils through which they were passing diminished this one, since the huge bodies of ice which rose up on all sides shed around a reflection so powerful, that some light penetrated the very densest mists, and enabled the ships to keep clear of them and of one another. As Parry proceeded, he ascertained that his commander of the former year had been mistaken in supposing Lancaster Sound to be a bay instead of a strait ; sailing over the spot where Captain Ross had placed the Croker Mountains, and discovering beyond it a large channel bearing towards the south, to



which when he found himself still engaged in exploring it on the birthday of the Prince Regent, he gave the name of Prince Regent's Inlet. He learnt also to think those naturalists and poets mistaken who had denied fishes the organ of sound ; since Mr. Fisher, the assistant-surgeon, affirmed that the white whale had a shrill ringing note, distinctly audible even when it was several feet below the surface of the water, and "not unlike that of musical glasses when badly played." It was a less pleasing discovery that convinced him that the compass was no longer the unerring guide which it was supposed to be. He had not gone beyond the seventy-third degree of north latitude before he found the directive power of the needle so completely overpowered by the attraction of the ship's iron, that no alteration of her course produced a corresponding change in the compass. He inferred from the circumstance that he was approaching the Magnetic Pole, and hoped to discover it ; that honour, however, as will be related presently, was reserved for one of his young companions. Whatever was the cause, it was evident that he could no longer trust to the guidance of the compass ; and for the direction of his course he was forced to rely during the remainder of his voyage on observations loosely deduced from the situation of the sun.

Still, as the wind was fair, he held on his way fearlessly ; passing through channels hitherto untraversed, coasting along lands unknown to civilized man, and availing himself of his privilege as their discoverer to confer on each bay or headland, or strait, the name of some friend at home, of some man eminent for station or virtue, or genius, or of some of his own officers who were sharing his toils and dangers, and whom he thus made also sharers of his honours. His advance was, of course, not wholly unimpeded : sometimes the wind chopped about ; sometimes he was delayed, or altogether stopped by fields of ice, of greater or less magnitude, which lay across his path ; and

more than once the ships were forced to lie to for a day, and the men took advantage of the holiday to play football on the ice. Still so rapid altogether was his course, that by the 4th of September, only five weeks from the time when he had entered Lancaster Sound, he had reached the 110th degree of west longitude, and had thus entitled himself and his followers to the bounty of 5000*l.*, which had been promised by a recent Act of Parliament to the first adventurers who should penetrate so far into the Arctic Seas. To the headland which marked the spot he gave the name of Bounty Cape; and the island to which it belonged he called after Lord Melville, in honour of his office of First Lord of the Admiralty. Though he had reckoned upon still enjoying some weeks of open weather, Bounty Cape was nearly the limit of his voyage; he had got but a very short distance further to the westward when heavy gales compelled him to return to a bay which he had already selected as a suitable spot to winter in; and there, on the 24th of September, he began to cut a canal through the ice, in order to anchor the ships out of the way of the fast-drifting floes, whose pressure must have proved irresistible. And having placed them in security, he applied himself to render tolerable and even healthful to his men, a sojourn which could not be expected to last less than eight months; and which in the end was found to have a still longer duration. For a few weeks the country itself provided them with employment, as game was tolerably abundant, and the pursuit of it was to be encouraged, not only for the recreation, but also for the food which it supplied, since men never were in a situation in which fresh meat was of more importance to their health. But this resource soon passed away. By the middle of October the ptarmigan winged their way towards a more southern and milder latitude; the reindeer soon followed; and foxes and wolves were the only animals left to endure the cold which men, hitherto accustomed to the comforts

of an English home, voluntarily braved at the call of duty.

The reindeer had not long departed when the sun disappeared likewise. From the 4th of November till the 8th of February he was no more seen above the horizon. And it was during this gloomy period that the resources of Parry's genius showed themselves, in the numerous contrivances with which he beguiled the minds of his followers, and, by providing them with incessant and varied occupation, preserved their health both of mind and body. He set up a theatre, in which plays were acted once a fortnight; those who could read being fully employed in learning their parts, while those less accomplished found work to their mind in preparing the fittings of the theatre, or in cutting up old sails and bunting into petticoats to disguise their messmates, as well as might be done, under the appearance of Miss in her teens, or Lydia Languish. He skilfully availed himself also of the desire for instruction, which the example of those who could become actors and actresses excited in their comrades, to establish a reading-school; and conducted it so successfully that before the end of the winter there was not a man in either ship who could not read. He erected an observatory too, in which Captain Sabine, an Engineer officer attached to the expedition, with several of the naval officers, made and collected a series of interesting astronomical and meteorological observations. And last of all, though in that desolate and solitary region little could arise that could fairly be entitled news, he established a weekly newspaper, of which Captain Sabine became the editor, with the whole body of officers for contributors; and which, though it necessarily partook more of the character of a magazine than of that of a newspaper, fully answered its intended purpose of furnishing employment for the leisure hours of both writers and readers.

The first disappearance of the sun produced a singular

effect, both on the inanimate and animated creation. The stars were seen at noonday. The cold became so intense that the timbers of the ships cracked loudly; causing at first great alarm lest the masts should fall, or the sides gape in irremediable leaks. The beasts were terrified at the sudden darkness, and the wolves gathering round the ship expressed their terror by piteous howlings. As the time wore on, the miseries of an Arctic winter pressed more and more severely on the endurance of those exposed to it. Severe as the cold was, for the thermometer fell to more than fifty degrees below zero, they were forced to husband their coal, lest they should have need of it for a second winter. For, though coal had been found in lumps on the adjacent coast, which, as it was certainly indigenous, bore no doubtful testimony to the character of some of the strata which lay beneath the snow, it was manifestly out of the reach of our navigators; and, though some parts of Melville Island produced peat which was found to burn as well as the same material burns with us, yet the supply of this fuel also was very scanty, and, as long as the ships remained out, it was evident that their principal reliance must be placed on what they had brought with them. Parry, therefore, considered himself bound to be very sparing in its use; and, painful as this economy was, yet the use of fire at all brought with it some evils: since, while all outside the ship was rigid with frost, the steam and vapour which the heat of the fire generated within filled the bed-places with damp which threatened to be as pernicious to the health of the men as the greatest possible severity of dry cold. But the Captain's fertility of resource was equal to the encounter with this as with every other evil; and by stoves and air-pipes of his own invention he gradually succeeded in establishing a perfect system of drying and ventilation. The best proof of the wisdom of his measures is to be found in their complete success. During a space of more than a year and a half that the

expedition was absent from England, out of ninety-four men who composed the two crews only one died; and the others returned in perfect health and strength, except that one or two of them had lost fingers from frostbites, against which, in the beginning of the winter, they had not learnt the necessity of taking unremitting precautions.

But the longest winter, like the longest night, must have an end. And by the beginning of May the icebound sailors began to perceive signs of an approaching release from their long and dreary imprisonment. The grouse and the deer reappeared; patches of brown earth began to show themselves through the snow, and the sorrel to put forth its leaves, which were most welcome as a medicine for scurvy, from which all Parry's care had been unable to preserve his followers. Throughout the winter he had raised mustard-and-cress in his cabin; and that supply, scanty as it necessarily was, had been of no small use to those actually under the influence of disease. But the ice still held the ships; and, while the men were busy recaulking the decks, and preparing to avail themselves of the first moment when they might be able to emancipate themselves, he made excursions on foot to explore different parts of the island, finding but little to reward his diligence. And he also, from time to time, sent out parties of hunters, whose exertions were rewarded with very fair success among the grouse, reindeer, and musk-oxen. By the middle of July the ice had so far melted around the ships that boats were able to pass to and fro between them; and by the 17th the sun had obtained so much power that the thermometer rose to sixty, a degree of warmth that seems to have been very unusual, even at midsummer, in Melville Island. At last, on the 1st of August, the ice had broken up into small fragments, and drifted out of the harbour sufficiently to allow the ships to quit it too: and at one o'clock in the day they weighed

anchor and ran along the shore to the south-western point of the bay, to which Parry had given the name of Cape Hearne, in honour of a former diligent explorer of those regions; before night they rounded it, and, turning their heads to the westward, they renewed their voyage. They had been detained at least a month longer than had been anticipated; but Parry remembered that on the same day in the preceding year he had only reached the entrance to Lancaster Sound; and, reckoning how far a progress similar to that which he had then made would now carry him, he cherished confident hopes of eventual success.

He was soon forced to abandon this expectation. The sea indeed was tolerably clear of ice, but the wind was foul: a strong current, running steadily to the eastward, greatly impeded his progress; and the second ship, the Griper, which from the first had proved a bad sailer, had now become so much worse that he almost resolved to desert her, and to remove her crew into his own ship, the Hecla. One circumstance was in his favour: the soundings presented a remarkable degree of regularity, so that he could hold on his way without fear of grounding; and he conceived the idea that the constant motion of the drifting ice had a tendency to prevent the accumulation of shoals in those seas. But on the 5th, when he had not advanced above two degrees, which in that latitude do not exceed five-and-twenty miles, he found his way barred by vast floes of ice heavier than any which he had yet seen in his whole voyage; and he was forced to take the ships in close to the shore, and to anchor them, in order to save them from instant destruction. Desirous to turn every moment to account, while thus detained, he despatched a party on shore to examine the country; but not much was to be learnt, except the fact that the land on this coast was gaining on the sea, as was proved by some skeletons of whales which were found some miles inland. From the hills behind land was seen at a great distance in the

S.S.W.; the weather was clear: Parry himself estimated the tract which he could see with the aid of his glass as reaching to the 117th degree of W. longitude, and, as "the most western land yet discovered in the Polar Sea," he gave it the name of Banks's Land, in honour of the President of the Royal Society, Sir Joseph Banks, who had been one of the most ardent friends of Arctic research.

Contrary to all former experience, as the summer advanced the ice became more massive than ever. One huge floe Parry estimated as being at the least a hundred feet thick, and the loose ice was on a scale of magnitude corresponding to the floes.\* He looked upon it as certain, from the combined experience of this and the preceding year (since in 1819 also he had been arrested by the ice a fortnight before he had expected), that "there was something peculiar about the south-western extremity of Melville Island, which made the icy sea there peculiarly unfavorable to navigation and which seemed likely to bid defiance to all his efforts to proceed much further." The wind had changed, and had become due fair: yet the ice did not move; and, since that circumstance appeared to show that it could be dislodged by no wind but one from the west, which would be foul for the ships, Parry resolved on retracing his steps for a short distance, and trying to find a passage to the southward. Before, however, he was able to move at all, the ice pressed so heavily on the ships that they were both placed in imminent danger; and for some hours there seemed but little chance of saving the Griper. Fortunately some imperceptible change in the currents loosened the ice, and the danger passed away for a time, though many days elapsed before the ships could be looked on as permanently safe. Indeed

\* A *floe* of ice differs from a *field* of ice only as having limits which can be seen from the mast-head. A *field* of ice is to all appearance bounded only by the land: a *pack* is a collection of smaller masses of ice densely packed together, and having no visible termination.

the currents which, on this occasion, had preserved them, Parry soon came to look upon as among the most formidable additions to the precariousness of his situation, since, with every shift of wind which set the ice in motion, they also shifted, so that no dependence could be placed on either their force or their direction. He was now within a few miles of Cape Dundas, the most southern promontory of the whole island. It lies in  $74^{\circ} 27' 50''$  N. lat.,  $113^{\circ} 57' 35''$  W. long.: and, according to the boast which he justly made then, and which is still equally true, "is the westernmost point to which the navigation of the Polar Sea to the northward of the American continent has yet been carried" by any one entering those seas from the side of Europe.

It was a proud boast, and he had need of the consolation that the right of making it afforded him, for he began seriously to apprehend that he should be detained there a second winter. No opening in the old ice could be seen in any direction, and the young ice was visibly increasing both on the west and on the south; snow, too, began to fall. The only channel which was in the least degree open was that which led him back to the eastward; and that road, after a careful deliberation, which by its length shows the unwillingness with which he arrived at the decision, he at last resolved to take. It was clear that no possible change of wind or weather could now enable him to reach Behring's Straits that summer, while it was only by at once putting the crews on half-rations of both food and fuel that the provisions could be made to last till the autumn of the ensuing year. And this reduction could not possibly be carried out without great risk to health. On the 26th of August, therefore, he began to work homewards. And though, as he moved slowly back, he encountered floes of ice of dimensions such as he had never before beheld, they left him a tolerably clear passage to the north of them; and in five days he again



reached Baffin's Bay, discovering a new strait on the southern side of Lancaster Sound, to which he gave the name of Admiralty Inlet, and which he correctly conjectured to communicate with Prince Regent's Inlet, so that the land between the two was an island.

Eager to turn every moment to profitable account, he resolved to keep as close as possible to the western shore of Baffin's Bay, looking upon an accurate survey of that coast as very desirable, from the probability that it might one day afford an important station for our whalers. He hoped, too, that he might find some new entrance into the Polar Sea at a lower latitude than Lancaster Sound. One such had been discovered by Captain Ross; but that officer, believing it to be land-locked at the end, had named it Pond's Bay: and Parry now found its mouth impenetrably blocked up with ice, though, as he could see beyond the barrier, his officers agreed with him that it was another strait; and he conjectured that it also communicated with Admiralty Inlet, as was afterwards ascertained to be the case. Still working to the southward, he discovered another inlet, Scott's Inlet, with a rocky island at the entrance, which he examined sufficiently to ascertain its insular character; but the wind was so fair for further progress down the coast, that he thought it inadvisable to make any protracted halt for its examination, and pursued his way, meeting several of our whaling ships, and at one spot finding a small party of Esquimaux, who showed a friendly disposition, and with whom he speedily established a cordial intercourse, and some traffic for skins and pieces of whalebone and ivory. He found them extremely honest, but shrewd at bargaining for what they had to sell; always demurring at the price first offered, but taking it when they found that there was no chance of more being given. Two of Parry's officers were sons of the eminent artists Sir W. Beechey and Mr. Hoppner; and, inheriting a portion of their father's talent as portrait painters, took like-

nesses of some of the group : a measure to which they offered no objection. The men were the most favorable subjects, since they were not tattooed ; while the faces of the women were defaced by such marks on cheeks, forehead, nose, and chin : only one of them being free from such disfigurement, from which circumstance Parry judged her to be the only one who was still unmarried. On the 9th of September he reached Cape Kater, and would gladly have examined the large inlet to the south, marked on the charts as Home Bay, but which he did not doubt to be (as in fact it is) a strait leading to the same waters with Pond's Bay and Scott's Inlet. The wind, however, blew too strongly from the westward to allow him to execute his purpose, and he hastened on, hoping, perhaps, to discover a strait leading in the same direction, or, as he desired still more, to the southward. As he proceeded, however, the wind died away so nearly to a calm, that for a day or two he made but little progress. The stillness of the weather, too, allowed the ice to gather about the ships, and he was forced to endeavour to work back a little in the hope of getting round it ; but this, too, was found to be impossible. After a day or two, the wind rose again, but kept continually shifting, and brought up large floes of ice, whose heavy shocks would have stove in any ships but such as had their sides strengthened expressly for such terrible encounters. Once or twice there even seemed a chance that the expedition might be hemmed in by the ice, and detained throughout the winter in Davis's Straits ; but the perseverance and skill of the seamen prevailed. On the 24th of September they crossed the Arctic Circle, after having spent nearly a year and a quarter within its inhospitable limits ; and on the 30th of October, the *Hecla* reached the coast of Scotland. She had outsailed the *Griper*, but waited for her in Leith harbour, and the two ships proceeded in company to the Thames.

Though the voyage thus brought to its termination had

failed in its principal object, it had been barren neither of glory nor of important results. It had added greatly to our knowledge of the general character of the Polar Seas ; and, in the opinion of Parry himself, it had established the existence of a North-Western Passage beyond all reasonable doubt. He even believed, though he had been so forcibly arrested in his progress at Melville Island, that, could he have advanced but a very short distance further, he should have found his difficulties lessen ; basing this conjecture on the admitted fact that the climate of any given parallel is by many degrees more temperate on the western side of America than on the eastern coast of the same continent. He considered, also, that the events of his past voyage led to the inference that the most practical path would be that which lay the most to the southward. How just both these conclusions were was proved above thirty years afterwards by the Captains Collinson and M'Clure, who, as will hereafter be seen, in two successive years made their way from Behring's Straits to the north-eastern end of Prince of Wales's Strait, the channel which runs along the southern shores of Bank's Land ; thus reaching a point within a few miles of that at which Parry had now been compelled to turn back, and which Parry actually beheld from Melville island. They found their progress checked by a narrow but impenetrable barrier of ice ; but the seasons of their voyages were more severe than that of 1820 had been, so that it seems hardly impossible that, had Parry reached Melville Island but a week earlier, and had he then taken the course to the southward, which he would fain have taken the next year, he might have found the eastern end of Prince of Wales's Strait open, and have secured the attainment of his object on his very first trial.

The authorities at the Admiralty agreed with him that the existence of a communication between the Atlantic and Pacific was now nearly ascertained, and the next year sent him to renew the attempt to prove it. For the

slow-moving Griper they substituted the Fury, a new ship of the same class as the Hecla, placing Parry, who had now been promoted to the rank of Commander, in her, while Commander Lyon was appointed to the Hecla. Adopting his own theories that the best prospect of success lay in entering the Polar Seas at the southernmost point which might be discoverable, and also that "a continuity of land" was essential, they directed him, instead of taking the old route by Baffin's Bay, to make his way up Hudson's Strait till, having passed Wager River, he should have arrived at the continent of North America. After reaching it, the line of coast was to be his guide. He fully coincided in the wisdom of these instructions, which had probably in a great degree been concerted with himself; but they were far from leading him to the result which he had confidently hoped. He had scarcely reached the entrance to Hudson's Strait when he found his advance obstructed by the ice, and he lay there in complete inaction for above a fortnight before the pack opened sufficiently to allow him to force his way into the channel. It was still so thick that his progress was extremely slow; and when, after a few more days, the water became more open, he was embarrassed in nearly an equal degree by the violence and irregularity of the tides, caused, in his opinion, by the fact of the mouth of the strait being "completely open to the influence of the whole Atlantic." As he advanced they became more moderate and steady. He began to fall in with the ships bound for the establishments of the Hudson's Bay Company, and, by the advice of some of their captains, he resolved to push on towards the north before attempting to find a westward passage. Keeping on the eastern side of Southampton Island, he made his way up Fox Channel, comparing its characteristics with the description given of it by Captain Middleton, who had sailed up it in the reign of George II. In spite of some obscurity and inconsistency, he found his prede-

cessor's account very fairly accurate; and though the latitude in which Middleton had placed Frozen Strait was wrongly laid down, Parry established the correctness of his assertion that it was a strait and not a bay, by sailing through it, as he subsequently verified his account of Repulse Bay.

Finding no outlet in the direction in which he sought it, and being in consequence compelled to return to Fox Channel, he was more than once in imminent danger of shipwreck from the strength of the currents which drove the ships before them, from heavy masses of ice which crowded upon them, and islets and rocks which lay almost directly across his path. Fogs, too, added to his embarrassment; so dense that, though at last the stream which had threatened him with destruction saved him by driving him into clear water, he was never able to ascertain through which passage he had drifted. He now began to learn the rare capacity of one of his officers. Mr. James Ross was again under his command; and, though still only a midshipman, showed such superiority to his comrades in these hours of difficulty and danger, as inspired his commander with the fullest confidence in him, and led him, on one or two occasions in which he himself was disabled by illness, to place short expeditions under his command, and to rely implicitly on the information which he brought back. Another of his midshipmen, one of whom he also conceived a high opinion, was Mr. F. Crozier, who in this, his first voyage of the kind, displayed much of that cheerful energy and endurance which eventually won for him the distinction of being appointed second in command to Franklin in his last voyage, and of awakening, with that lamented officer, the sympathy of all civilised nations in his unhappy fate.

It was hardly a counterpoise to these cheering circumstances that he found reason at the same time to conceive a worse opinion of the Esquimaux than his first voyage had

led him to entertain. While he had been waiting at the entrance of Hudson's Strait, he had fallen in with one tribe of them who were far from emulating the honesty of his friends at Baffin's Bay. But those whom he now met were not only incurable thieves, but unscrupulous and vicious in many other respects also ; though exhibiting the same mildness of character and general humanity which had originally given him a favourable idea of the whole race. They treated their women, too, with more respect than is usual among savages ; and it is remarkable that the only person among them who evinced any superior power of intellect was one of the softer sex, Iligliuk, the wife of Okotook. If the discrimination of our voyagers was not a little blunted by their long absence from female society, Iligliuk was certainly a lady of rare endowments. She had no objection, indeed, to eating raw wolf ; but she had an ear for music, a soft and tuneful voice, and a knowledge of geography, if not of hydrography, since she drew a map which Parry subsequently found to give a very fairly accurate outline of parts of the coast about which he desired information.

As on his first voyage, on the departure of summer he was forced to take up a permanent station as winter-quarters for his ships ; and the place he chose was a roadstead in Winter Island, a little to the north of the point where the Frozen Strait joins Fox Channel. There he remained, beguiling the time for himself and his followers with the same pastimes and studies which in his previous voyage had made a similar detention endurable. And he was released at an earlier period ; since, on the 1st of July, the drifting of the ice from the land allowed him to get under weigh, and stand out into the centre of the channel to prosecute his enterprise. The omens, however, derived from this early release proved fallacious. The summer which ensued was remarked even by the Esquimaux as one of extraordinary severity : wind, currents, ice, all combined to delay his progress. Seven weeks were consumed in

reaching the strait at the northern point of Melville Peninsula, the Hecla and Fury Strait, as it has since been called ; and, when they had threaded this narrow channel, so unpromising did everything beyond appear, that, after a careful examination of the country on each side, the wisest step to be taken appeared to be to retrace their steps and winter at Igloodik, scarcely a hundred miles from their quarters of the preceding year.

The summer of 1823 did not emancipate them at the same early period as that of 1822. Even the 1st of August, which had been the term of Parry's imprisonment at Melville Island, now found the ships as securely confined in the ice as they had been six months before. A week more elapsed before any sign of its loosening could be perceived ; and then, reflecting on the lateness of the season, which forbade all hope of making any further discoveries during the brief period for which the sea would be navigable, Parry decided on returning home. It was the 12th of August before the ships could move ; but after that time, though still somewhat impeded by fogs and ice, they had a favorable passage, and reached England in the middle of October.

Even this second failure did not shake Parry's belief in the existence of a North-West Passage, nor blunt the desire of the Admiralty to discover it, nor lessen their confidence in him as the fittest instrument to prosecute the search. One circumstance even contributed to strengthen their expectation of eventual success. While Parry had been investigating the route by sea, a second expedition, under the command of Captain Franklin, had been occupied in exploring the northern coast of America, beginning at the Coppermine River, and working back towards the east. It can hardly be called a naval expedition, yet it may not entirely be passed over by any writer proud of the resolution and hardihood of his countrymen, which was never more severely tried or exhibited in a more

marvellous degree. The party sailed in one of the Hudson's Bay ships for York factory, the chief settlement of that Company. It consisted of only five Englishmen, with some Indian and Canadian guides; and among the younger members of it was Mr. George Back, a midshipman, who on this occasion first displayed those marvellous powers of constitution and of endurance which have placed his name so high among our Arctic travellers. While they were resting in their second winter-quarters, he, with a couple of guides, undertook a long journey overland for the purpose of exploring the country next to be traversed. The thermometer was at times nearly sixty degrees below zero; he slept in the open air with only a blanket and a deerskin for a covering; and he was often for two or three days together absolutely without food. Yet his courage never flagged: for five months he cheerfully endured this extremity of suffering; and when he rejoined his comrades he had travelled not fewer than eleven hundred miles, and brought them information which proved of no small value when they resumed their travel. He had learnt also one fact which was likewise remarked by his companions in their winter-house, that the aurora borealis, of which frequent repetitions were observed throughout the whole season, exerted a powerful influence over the magnetic needle. For the compasses worked as usual when their natural bias was no longer counteracted by the iron of the ships; but when the aurora was visible, and especially when the flashes were between the clouds and the earth, the needle was drawn greatly on one side. They ascertained at the same time that the distance of the aurora from the earth does not usually exceed six or seven miles.

At, last, in July, 1821, after an absence of two years from England, they reached the mouth of the Coppermine River; and launching their canoes into the sea, they began to coast along towards the east, hoping in a few weeks to reach Repulse Bay, which, if they could



have gone straight to it, was scarcely more than six hundred miles off. But the indentations and headlands of the coast-line were so numerous, and some of the inlets so deep, that when they had exhausted the time which they could with safety devote to the journey, they had not traversed above a third of that distance. And soon after passing a cape, which, from that circumstance, Franklin named Point Turnagain, he was forced to abandon the further prosecution of his enterprise, and to bend his course towards the south, so as to reach the settlements of the Hudson's Bay Company before the return of winter. But he had ascertained that the sea along the coast was tolerably open, and deep enough for large ships; and, as he saw no old ice, he concluded that such was its general character at that season of the year. A westerly current also prevailed throughout, which would be of no slight assistance to vessels working towards the west; and Arctic Sound, at the north-west corner of the Great Bathurst Inlet, would in his judgment afford an excellent winter harbour.

The report made by Parry on his return, coupled with Franklin's statements respecting the character of the sea on the coast of North America, decided the Admiralty to despatch him on a third expedition. At the beginning of the next year the *Fury* and *Hecla* were recommissioned, and in May, 1824, they again set sail. The failure of the preceding year, contrasted with the greater progress made in his first voyage, appeared to show that the route up Baffin's Bay was preferable to that by Hudson's Strait; and, in accordance with this view, he was now instructed to take his way through Lancaster Sound and Barrow's Strait. From thence in deference to the strong opinion which, in his first voyage, he had expressed in favour of Prince Regent's Inlet, he was directed to endeavour to descend that channel, and from it to work his way to the sea which bounds the American continent. He set out with

eagerness on an enterprise so entirely consonant to his own wishes and judgment ; but in proportion to his confidence in success was the completeness of his failure. And no stronger proof of the absolute impossibility of finding a passage which should be available as a practicable route for ships can be conceived than that which is supplied by the fact that, so far from experience facilitating the attainment of the desired object, Parry's first was his most successful voyage. In the second, as we have seen he made far inferior progress. In the third he was wholly mastered by the elements, and even lost one of his ships ; a disaster which he had escaped, even when one of them was the slow and unhandy Griper. In this his last voyage everything was against him from the very beginning. The summer was one of unusual inclemency, even in those miserable regions. At the very entrance of Davis's Straits the ships were met by huge icebergs ; and before they had reached Baffin's Bay, they were surrounded by ice in floes so dense that no progress could be made but by sawing through it. August was at an end before Parry reached that part of the bay opposite to Lancaster Sound ; and it was the 10th of September before he entered that channel, which, in his first voyage, he had passed through on the 1st of August. At first he found it clear, as he had expected ; but in a day or two his advance was again barred by fields of fresh ice rapidly forming around him. He had no wind to aid him in forcing his way through, while a strong current from the westward often caught the ships, and with irresistible force bore them in a single night further back than two or three days' labour had carried them forward. So great had been the delays to which he had been thus exposed, that he even deliberated whether he should at once return and postpone the enterprise till the next year : but honour, as he conceived, forbade so precipitate a retreat. By unwearied perseverance he at last

reached Prince Regent's Inlet ; and he resolved to winter in Port Bowen, a few miles down its eastern side, in order to start from thence at the first appearance of open weather in the ensuing summer.

The winter proved as unprecedentedly severe as the past summer. For above four months the thermometer never once rose to zero ; but Parry's precautions kept the men in health. The occupations of former winters, slightly varied, beguiled to the men the dreariness of their long imprisonment. The next year the ice broke up rather before he had expected ; and on the 19th of July he sailed out of his winter-quarters, exulting in the thought that he had thus gained above a fortnight on his first voyage. The hope thus created proved sadly illusive. He at once stood across to the western side of the channel, trusting that, as the land of North Somerset visibly trended towards the west, he might soon find some outlet such as his instructions had sketched out. But he had hardly reached the coast, and begun to explore its outline toward the south, before he was met by a repetition of the weather of the preceding year, with all its horrors and all its difficulties. Ice surrounded him, thickening around the ships so rapidly that they were completely beset ; and while the *Fury* lay in a most dangerous position under the lofty and brittle cliffs which fringed the shore, the *Hecla* drifted about the channel in the midst of a field of ice from which it was perfectly uncertain when or where she might be able to extricate herself. At last it threw her on shore at no great distance from the *Fury* ; and presently the *Fury* was driven from her position, and hurried past the *Hecla* at so short a distance, that for some minutes a collision appeared inevitable. Such an accident might very probably have caused the destruction of both ships, and have led to the loss of all the crews. And, even when they were relieved from the apprehension of this peril, their prospects were not greatly improved, for the ships were

both aground; and the *Fury* had been so greatly strained by the pressure between the ice and the rocks that she began to leak greatly. In addition to their other troubles, her crew had to undergo the fatigue of keeping all her pumps constantly at work. In reality her fate was sealed: though once or twice she was got afloat, she was speedily again driven ashore, each succeeding shock shattering her strained frame more fatally; till at last, only a month after she had quitted Bowen Harbour, her preservation was found to be hopeless, and Parry decided on abandoning her, removing her crew into the *Hecla*, and in that single ship making his way home.

His confidence in the practicability of passing from ocean to ocean was still unabated, though he began to believe not only that such a voyage could never be accomplished in a single summer, but that it would require a combination of unusually favorable circumstances to perform it in two. His opinion was generally adopted; and from this time forth the search for the North-Western Passage assumed a totally different aspect. All idea of commercial advantage was abandoned; and those who, for the future, promoted voyages for its discovery were influenced by a scientific desire for the solution of a geographical problem; those who sought employment in such expeditions were actuated partly by that hardy ambition which loves a struggle with difficulty for the very difficulty's sake, and partly by that noble thirst for fame, which perhaps has never in an equal degree displayed its power of spurring men on

“To scorn delights and live laborious days,”

as in the case of those whom it has prompted to brave such sufferings and dangers as those which had surrounded Parry and Franklin, and as they therefore knew to await themselves, in the hope of accomplishing a task in which every succeeding failure made success, if ever attained, more glorious.

For a time, however, the result of Parry's last voyage appeared to be a resolution on the part of the Government to desist from the prosecution of the search for a North-Western Passage altogether. And though, in the year 1827, they again despatched him to the North, the object of the expedition was a revival of the attempt made by Captain Phipps, above half a century before, to reach the North Pole itself. It was not, indeed, expected now that ships would be able to penetrate so far; but the plan to be adopted, and which had been originally suggested by Franklin, contemplated the leaving the *Hecla* (for she was again the vessel to be employed) at Spitzbergen, and the performance of the rest of the journey in boats and sledges. James Ross and Crozier were again among Parry's lieutenants; and their names, coupled with his own, are a sufficient guarantee that everything was done that energy, resolution, and ingenuity could do. But the difficulties proved insuperable. The travellers reached  $82^{\circ} 45'$  of N. lat. having thus approached nearer to the Pole by a whole degree than the most adventurous of their predecessors; but at that point they were compelled to return. Indeed they were returning before they were aware of it; since, as the season advanced, the ice began to drift steadily to the southward with a rapidity which overpowered their efforts to proceed in an opposite direction. The further they got towards the north, the rarer were their opportunities of taking accurate observations of their position: but, when the sun was sufficiently visible for that purpose, they had the mortification of finding that, for every three miles that their utmost efforts could carry them forward, the drift of the ice was bearing them four miles backward. And so constant was its movement that, when, after thirty-five days of incessant and tantalising labour, they resolved to retrace their steps, they regained Spitzbergen in fifteen days more, occupying thus in their return less than half of the time which they had consumed in their advance.

A still stronger proof that the Government had for the time abandoned the idea of seeking a North-West Passage may be found in the fact that, in the year 1828, they carried through Parliament a Bill repealing the offer of a reward of 20,000*l.* to its discoverers; and that the only voyage for its discovery which quitted our shores for more than ten years was sent out by a private individual, Mr. Felix Booth, who felt a patriotic desire to prevent any other nation from outrunning Britain in the race for honour; and who, being a friend of Captain John Ross, was led by that officer's sanguine calculations still to believe in the possibility of success. Ross's hopes were principally founded on the sagacious idea that steam, the value of which was now fully established for short voyages, would prove a valuable auxiliary in enabling a vessel to force her way through the ice, as well as in saving the time unavoidably lost by a sailing-vessel in contending with calms and adverse winds. And the *Victory*, in which in May, 1829, he finally set sail, was intended for both steaming and sailing. Unfortunately, the soundness of his opinion was not tested, since her engines, which were of a new construction, broke down before he had lost sight of our own shores; and thus, almost from the very beginning, he had to trust entirely to her sailing capabilities. The details of this expedition, as being unconnected with the Royal Navy, do not fall within the plan of the present work; yet it may not be out of place, in justice to a man who, if his ignorance of science in some degree disqualified him for the conduct of an enterprise of the kind, has yet rarely been surpassed in courage and fortitude, or in the occasions for the display of these virtues which his self-sought labours afforded him, to say that his exertions were far from barren of results. He and James Ross, his second in command, explored the whole of that large district south of North Somerset, to which, in honour of his friend, in whose employment he may be said to have been, he gave the name

of Boothia Felix. They discovered King William's Land; and James Ross ascertained what was at the time conceived to be the precise situation of the Magnetic Pole. In June, 1831, he, in an overland expedition, made while the *Victory* was still imprisoned in the harbour which had been chosen for her second winter-quarters, ascertained that at a spot on the south-western shore of Boothia, close to Cape Adelaide, N. lat.  $70^{\circ} 5' 17''$ , W. long.  $96^{\circ} 46' 45''$ , the dip of his needle was within one minute of being vertical, while the horizontal needles were reduced to total inaction. He triumphantly hoisted the British flag on the spot, as on the actual Magnetic Pole; and his opinion was generally adopted by men of science at the time, though subsequent investigations have led to the conclusion that the true centre of magnetic intensity is a moveable point revolving within the frigid zone.

This was the last success of the expedition; indeed, were it not for this achievement, it might be said that the limit of success had been attained long before. The winter of 1829-30 had been one of such rare duration, that the ship was not released from its winter harbour till the 17th of September; and she had not advanced three miles before her progress was again barred by the ice. In 1831, August was within two days of its close before she could be moved, and so unfavorable was the weather, that her progress only exceeded that of the preceding year by a single mile. The winter of 1831-32 was more severe than either of those which had preceded it; and in the spring of 1832 Ross began to perceive that his sole hope of a safe return home lay in the abandonment of the ship, and trusting to the men's power of dragging their boats over the ice till they should reach a more open sea. Some more boats, too, with vast quantities of provisions, were known to be at the place where Parry had abandoned the *Fury*; and those, or such of them as should be fit for service, he purposed to use to convey

his crew to the top of Prince Regent's Inlet. By these means, and by indomitable resolution fortified by despair, they reached Barrow's Strait by the end of August, only to find it one impenetrable mass of ice. The stores of the *Fury* now proved their preservation. Thankfully they fell back on that well-stored magazine; by its aid passed a fourth winter in safety, and, for such a region, in comparative comfort; and the next year they had better fortune. In the middle of July, 1833, they once more embarked in their boats: this time they found Barrow's Strait open, and, by a combined use of oars and sails, at last reached the ground frequented by our whalers; where they found a ship which, singularly enough, proved to be the *Isabella*, the same vessel in which Ross had made his first voyage fifteen years before. He had some trouble to convince the fishermen of his identity; for a belief in his death, and that of all his comrades, was very commonly entertained: but doubt soon gave way to wonder at, and congratulations on his preservation; and at the close of the fishing season, the captain conveyed him and his men to England, where they were received with the honour due to their exertions, their sufferings, and the unquestionable importance of their discoveries.

The apprehensions for their safety were manifestly so well founded that, at the beginning of the same year, 1833, the Government had sent out Back to search for them by his own favourite plan of an overland journey from the Hudson's Bay settlements. In the spring of 1834 he learnt of the safe arrival of the missing expedition in England; and this welcome intelligence left him at liberty to devote himself wholly to geographical investigations, which, in spite of hardships little inferior to those which he had encountered in his first enterprise of the kind, he prosecuted with unwearied diligence and eminent success for another year. In the autumn of 1835 he returned home; and the talent and energy which he had



displayed, led the Admiralty to send him out the next year in a ship, the *Terror*, to prosecute his investigations, by sea, not with the intention that he should penetrate to the Pacific, but that he might perhaps work his way by sea to the mouth of the Great Fish River, which he had discovered on his recent land expedition ; and which, though he himself had been too modest to give it such an appellation, was now distinguished in England by his own name. He was directed to proceed up Hudson's Strait, following the line taken by Parry in his second voyage. But, if that great navigator had been unfortunate, he on this occasion met with even worse and stranger fortune. He had hardly reached the entrance to the strait when his ship became wedged in the ice ; and for ten months he was tossed up and down the strait and the entrance to Hudson's Bay, preserved, indeed, for the moment from danger by the vast pack which bore him up, but unable to conceal from himself the probability that, when it should break up, it might crush and annihilate the ship in releasing her. Fortunately, from this last calamity he was saved. When the summer returned, the crew, under his direction, began to labour for their extrication without any apparent success ; when suddenly the ice began to loosen of its own accord, and in a day or two launched the ship into deep water, sorely strained, and in a leaky condition, but still sound enough, since providentially the weather and the wind were fair, to allow Back to conduct her in safety to the Scottish coast.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1839—1859.

Captain James Ross is sent to the Southern Seas—Reaches Van Diemen's Land—Violent Storms—Auckland Islands—He discovers Victoria Land—Immense rampart of ice—Winters at New Zealand—Goes to Falkland Islands—Examines Tierra del Fuego—Returns home—A new expedition to the Arctic Regions is sent out under Sir John Franklin—Discoveries of Dease and Simpson—Franklin is last seen off Lancaster Sound—Ships are sent in search of him—Sir James Ross's voyage—Expedition of Collinson and M'Clure—The *Enterprise* returns to Hong-kong—M'Clure discovers the North-West Passage—Winters in Mersey Bay—Sir E. Belcher's voyage—Abandonment of the *Resolute* and her consorts—The *Resolute* is saved by the Americans, and presented to the Queen—Collinson's voyage—Expedition of Captain M'Clintock—Fate of Franklin's companions.

THE zeal, however, for extending our discoveries over lands and seas previously unknown, was too deeply seated in the heart of the nation for any disappointment to do more than divert it into another channel, and the abandonment of the search for the North-West Passage left its former promoters leisure to plan an expedition into the Antarctic Seas, where several objects worthy of investigation, and problems whose scientific solution was most desirable, presented themselves. More than one navigator of former days had expressed a belief in the existence of a great continent around the South Pole; though no one had as yet ever reached a point in those seas which corresponded within several degrees to the highest northern latitude to which our ships had penetrated; and, to determine this question, as far as possible, it was considered

requisite that an expedition should be sent out, with instructions to examine those seas thoroughly in the highest attainable latitude. The science, too, of magnetism, which had been so materially advanced by the discovery of the northern magnetic pole, and in which, from the connection between it and the working of the compass, practical navigation was so deeply interested, could not fail to be promoted by a series of observations carried on in southern latitudes, and a comparison between these results and those obtained at the opposite extremity of the earth. It was even hoped that it might be found possible to reach the southern magnetic pole; and the desire to attain this last-mentioned object of itself pointed out the person most fit to be entrusted with the conduct of the expedition, since it was justly felt that he who, as was believed, had discovered that spot in the northern latitudes was the man who, by his rare union of scientific ability with nautical skill and resolution, was the most likely man to succeed in its discovery in the opposite hemisphere.

Accordingly, in the summer of 1839, two ships, of the size which had been found most convenient for Arctic expeditions, the *Erebus*, of 370 tons, and the *Terror*, of 340 (the latter being the same vessel in which Back had been drifted about in his perilous voyage two years before), were put in commission, and were placed under the command of Captain James Ross, with Commander Crozier, who also, as we have seen, had had no slight experience in Arctic voyages, for his second in command. The ships were abundantly furnished with instruments of every kind for their own use; and likewise with others, for observatories to be erected at St. Helena, the Cape of Good Hope, and Van Diemen's Land; and in September they set sail.

Their voyage was at first greatly impeded by contrary winds; and the stoppages which Ross was compelled, by his orders, to make at St. Helena and the Cape of Good

Hope, delayed him so long that it was the 6th of April, 1840, before he was able to leave the last mentioned settlement. At first he bore down to the south-east, in order to visit the islands of Prince Edward and Kerguelen, which had been described by Cook, and to test the accuracy of that great navigator's observations. The weather was so unfavourable that he was unable to land on Prince Edward's Island: and before he reached Kerguelen's, he had a disagreeable indication of the severity of the climate in the regions to which he was bound; since, in lat.  $4^{\circ} 17'$ , a latitude corresponding to that of Tours in France, he began to meet with heavy blocks of ice. At Kerguelen's Island, though a long continuance of tempestuous weather detained him there upwards of two months, he found that Cook's accuracy had left him little to supply, and nothing to correct: and his attention was principally devoted to magnetic experiments, for which the island had been pointed out to him by his instructions as especially favourable. It was late in July before he again set sail, steering almost due east for Van Diemen's Land, to complete his duties in the erection of the observatories before he began to prosecute the more important portion of his task, the exploration of the Southern Seas. The Governor of Van Diemen's Land, at this time, was a man qualified in more than an unusual degree to appreciate the importance of his labours and observations of both kinds: Sir John Franklin, who, like himself, as we have already seen, had braved the hardships of the Arctic Circle, a return to which was still the object of his secret but most earnest wish, a wish which was hereafter but too fatally gratified. From him Ross learnt that, since the beginning of the year, more than one attempt had been made to anticipate his discoveries in the very path which he was proposing to take; since a French squadron had sailed from Hobart Town towards the south-west, on the 1st of January, and had discovered one con-

siderable tract of land, to which its commander, Captain d'Urville, had given the name of Terre Adelie: while, at the same time, an American officer, Lieutenant Wilkes, in the Vincennes, had gone in nearly the same direction, though as yet, in compliance with his orders, he had kept silence respecting the discoveries which he conceived himself to have made.

It subsequently appeared that neither the Frenchman nor the American were exactly qualified for the mission on which they had been sent. M. d'Urville was either so sanguine in his hopes, or so inaccurate in his calculations, that he confused the discovery of Terre Adelie with that of the magnetic pole; and Lieutenant Wilkes had so loose an idea of the rigid fidelity requisite in the performance of his duties, that he conceived himself at liberty to mark down on his chart land, as discovered, wherever he saw appearances which, to his mind "denoted its existence;" and, acting on this strange principle, subsequently announced himself as the discoverer of islands where, a few months afterwards, our navigators found nothing but open sea.

Ross, however, could not as yet be aware of the slight degree in which the foreign navigators would interfere with him; and feeling that, "as England had ever led the way in the southern, as in the northern regions, it would have been inconsistent with her pre-eminence for him to follow in the steps of the expedition of any other nation," he took a course many degrees to the eastward of theirs, and, bearing down along the meridian of  $170^{\circ}$  E., resolved to penetrate as far to the southward as he could, and to endeavour to reach the magnetic pole in that direction. It was not mere chance that led him to make choice of that particular line, but the knowledge that, in the preceding year, Mr. Balleny, a seaman in command of a whaling vessel belonging to Mr. Enderby, one of the most enterprising and enlightened of our British merchants, had

found the sea unusually open in that quarter ; and though this track did not absolutely conduct him to the point at which he had hoped to arrive, it rewarded his judgment with such important and interesting discoveries that he had no reason to regret having been driven by his foreign rivals from the path which he would otherwise have selected.

In the exploration which he was now to commence of waters hitherto almost untraversed, he probably expected to meet with hardships and difficulties of the same kind with those which had surrounded him in the Arctic seas. He soon found, however, that the resemblance was but slight : from the comparative scarcity of land, the sea was not confined in narrow channels ; and if, in one or two particulars, the difference was in favour of his present enterprise, in others, of greater importance, his former voyages had a decided advantage. He was never in the Antarctic Ocean exposed to the fearful cold, which in the North had rendered life almost insupportable : but, as the sea was open for a longer period, he was able each year to fall back and winter in a milder climate, without withdrawing himself from the region of his appointed work too far to be able to resume it with effect in the succeeding spring. On the other hand, the ice barred his progress in masses of which he had no previous experience or conception : and the whole ocean around was swept by frequent storms of fearful violence, such as are almost unknown amid the more land-locked seas among which Parry had led his followers. A great portion of his Journal is taken up in recording the encounters with a constant succession of gales, which scarcely any vessels but those strengthened expressly for such a voyage could have withstood ; by which the sea was lashed into unusual fury, dashing the ships against one another at the imminent risk of the instant destruction of both ; while icebergs, rising above their very mastheads, afforded

no hope of escape if they should be driven against them. Dense fogs, too, were of common occurrence; while the ice, which, as Parry had found in Baffin's Bay, by the reflection of its brightness pierced the gloom sufficiently to show him his course, appears within the Antarctic Circle to have had no such power.

On leaving Van Diemen's Land, Ross shaped his course directly for Lord Auckland's Islands, and devoted a day or two to an examination of the group, of which the largest is almost double the size of the Isle of Wight. It contains two excellent harbours, and is blest with a soil of admirable fertility, and a climate scarcely colder than that in the north of England. European animals, which had been introduced some years before, appeared to thrive there; and Captain Ross was so impressed with the numerous facilities that the islands presented for the establishment of a convict settlement, since New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land were no longer to be treated as such, that, on his return to Hobart Town, he addressed a formal memorial on the subject to Sir John Franklin, recommending the transference of those prisoners whom it was desired to remove from his government, to this district. He pronounced the islands, like most of the others of small extent in those seas, to be of volcanic origin, and made a careful examination of their geology, botany, and zoology; augmenting their treasures of the two latter kinds by sowing useful seeds and planting English fruits, such as strawberries and currants, in suitable places; and also by landing some pigs, sheep, and poultry, in the hope that their produce might prove of benefit to future navigators. From thence he proceeded to Campbell Island, which he found of nearly the same general character; and then, having reached the degree of latitude which he had proposed to himself as his line of operations, he plunged boldly into the unknown seas of the south. It was Christmas, which in those regions is

the middle of summer; yet, though he was not further to the south than  $57^{\circ} 52'$ , the thermometer never rose above  $40^{\circ}$ : while storms of sleet and snow accompanied him almost from the moment of his departure from Campbell Island, which may be called the real commencement of his voyage. By the 27th of December he reached lat.  $63^{\circ}$  S., and now began to see tokens of his approach to the regions he was seeking, in the presence of whales of unusually large size, and equally uncommon tameness, coming close up to the ships, from which they had evidently not as yet learnt to apprehend danger; and of icebergs of a still more unaccustomed magnitude, being often full two miles in circumference, and towering above the water to an average height of one hundred and fifty feet; and their neighbourhood was rendered additionally dangerous by the circumstance that large masses were continually falling from them, disturbing the sea to a great distance around.

On New Year's Day, 1841, the Erebus and her consort crossed the Antarctic Circle; and, though they were already surrounded with pack-ice, from which the loftier icebergs rose up like so many mountains, the seamen pressed eagerly and cheerfully on, thinking of nothing but the honour of their country, which was deeply concerned in their making more important and more accurate discoveries than their French or American rivals. Some of the younger officers thought such discoveries nearer at hand than they proved, since, in lat.  $67^{\circ}$ , an extensive cloud, of well-defined irregular outline and perfectly motionless, presented so faithful an appearance of a range of snow-clad hills, that the Captain's most positive assertions failed to convince them of its real nature; and they were not wholly undeceived till they found the ship actually passing over the spot where they, a few hours before, had felt assured that they saw visible and solid mountains. Captain Ross remarks that "it is always near



the margin of the ice that these appearances of land are most remarkable and most deceptive." He himself had no expectation of meeting land of any extent for some little time. A steady current was driving the ships towards the south-east, which convinced him that in that direction there must be a considerable open space to be traversed : but, as his desire was to get as far towards the south as he could, he hailed that indication as a favorable omen ; and on the 9th of January he found the expectation, which he had built on it, realised by his reaching a clear sea of great extent, of which the northern boundary lay in  $68^{\circ} 45' S$ .

On the 11th he had reached  $71^{\circ} 15'$ , the highest latitude attained by Cook : and he was steering directly for what he conceived to be the position of the magnetic pole ; which, if the sea should continue open, he made but little doubt of reaching in a very brief space of time, when his anticipations were presently damped by an appearance which in any other quarter would have given him the greatest pleasure. Right ahead of the ship, at a great distance, but between her and the pole which he was seeking, rose a long chain of snow-capped mountains, which, though as yet he could have no idea of its extent, threatened to bar his advance in the line in which he desired to push it. So lofty were its summits that they were distinctly seen while yet a hundred miles distant ; and as he drew nearer, he could discern that they were but a portion of an extensive tract of land stretching far on either side. As he proceeded, sounding carefully as he neared the coast, the soil and black stones, which came up with the lead, gave the idea that this land too, vast as it appeared to be, was of the same volcanic origin with the more northern islands ; and this impression was confirmed a few days afterwards, when he discovered a lofty burning mountain in a state of eruption. This indeed was not the character of the hills in the first range which met his view,

to the loftiest of which he gave the name of Colonel Sabine, of the Engineers, who had been his comrade in more than one voyage in the polar regions. Mount Sabine rose to a height of nearly ten thousand feet; but, as Ross proceeded southwards, keeping as close to the coast as the pack-ice with which it was fringed would permit, he came upon others far more lofty, the grandest of which he not inappropriately named Mount Erebus, after his own ship, calling an extinct volcano by its side Mount Terror, in honour of her consort. During the greater part of his voyage along the coast of this vast country, to which he presently gave the honoured title of Victoria Land, as an acknowledgment of his loyal duty to the sovereign in whose service he had discovered it, he had to contend with violent gales and a heavy sea; though this latter circumstance brought with it its own consolation, indicating again, as in his opinion it did, a great space of open water to windward, in the direction in which he most desired to advance. For he had been taking observations with unremitting diligence, and the result of them placed the magnetic pole in  $76^{\circ}$  S.,  $145^{\circ} 20'$  E.; while, on the day when he found himself abreast of Mount Erebus, he was in the very same latitude, and but little more than twenty degrees further to the eastward. If, therefore, he could now work but a comparatively short distance towards the west, he should have attained the highest object of his ambition.

The coast was fringed with many islands, on most of which he landed, and took formal possession of them. On many he found penguins of unprecedented size, three times as large as the finest turkeys; and, as these birds had probably been their sole inhabitants from the creation of the world, the islands themselves were little but vast magazines of guano. Around some of them he found more attractive objects; bringing up from a depth of two hundred and seventy fathoms beautiful specimens of living

coral, which naturalists had previously believed unable to exist at a depth of more than a few yards below the surface of the water. Working steadily on, though the ice and the heavy wind did not always allow him to keep near enough to the coast to survey its outline with accuracy, he at last found himself at the seventy-eighth degree of south latitude; nearly four degrees further than any man was known to have penetrated before.\* But brilliant as such an exploit was, it carried with it the disappointment of his hope of reaching the magnetic pole; for, at the point where Mount Erebus raised his flaming head, the land made almost a right angle, turning to the east; and as he followed its bend, scrutinising it with eager eye for some channel which might bear him to the south or west, he presently became aware of an obstacle to which no previous experience, in any region, afforded a parallel; and which the wildest imagination could never have ventured to conceive. The whole southern coast in front of him was fringed with a solid wall of ice, from a hundred and fifty to two hundred feet high, a thousand feet thick, as he soon learned to estimate it, and, as he eventually ascertained, not less than four hundred and fifty miles long. The navigation in front of it was most perilous, so vast were the floes and icebergs which tumbled about the adjacent waters; but, in spite of all obstacles and dangers, he sailed along it for many days, hoping at least to find a bay to winter in, from which he might conduct an expedition overland to the magnetic pole. But no indentation was visible in that gigantic rampart; and at last, yielding to absolute necessity, he turned back towards the north, forced to content himself with identifying the mountains which he saw in the extreme west as the undeniable seat of the pole, which he was not permitted to reach; and, by giving them the name of Prince

\* Cook's highest latitude was 71°; but in 1823 a captain of a whaler, Mr. James Weddell, had reached 74°.

Albert's Mountains, showing his appreciation of the zeal for the promotion of scientific knowledge already exhibited by the admirable Prince whom Queen Victoria had just selected to share her throne, and whose premature loss the whole nation is still lamenting with a sorrow which is evidently deeper than sympathy, and which shows their feeling that, in lamenting their sovereign's bereavement, they are also bewailing a loss of their own.

Rapidly he retraced his steps towards Mount Sabine. Just as he reached it, and when he was about to look his last on Victoria Land, a little before midnight, the Aurora Australis presented itself for the first time to his view; resembling a broken arch of singular brightness, though wholly destitute of colour, with rays more delicately painted than those of the corresponding spectacle in the Northern Seas; from which it also differed in the greater length of its vertical beams, and the frequency and suddenness of its disappearance and reappearance. The sailors looked upon the sight as a favorable omen, and their elation was increased when, two days afterwards, they came in sight of some lofty mountainous land, to which the Captain gave the name of Russell Peak, feeling doubtful whether it belonged to a group of islands which Mr. Balleny had discovered two years before, or as he was rather inclined to suspect, to some more extensive, and as yet wholly unknown land. As he drew nearer, however, he ascertained that the hills before him were undoubtedly a portion of Balleny's discovery; and he began also to suspect that that skilful seaman had anticipated M. d'Urville in his discovery of Terre Adelie, though he had not come upon that land at exactly the same point as the Frenchman. But, being invariably cautious to assert no more than he could prove, he would affirm nothing positively as to the connexion between these countries; and contented himself with the remark, that he saw no reason to agree in the opinion that the different patches of

land discovered by the American, French, and our own seamen, belonged to one great south continent: but that, in spite of their size (for Enderby's Land had been traced for two hundred miles, and Terre Adelie for three hundred), he was more inclined to look upon them as parts of a chain of islands. If, however, there was such a continent, then, as he pointed out, the honour of its discovery clearly belonged to Great Britain; as parts of it had been discovered by our whalers as early as 1831: nine years before either M. d'Urville or Lieutenant Wilkes had hoisted a sail in the Southern Seas.

As winter approached, Ross led his squadron back to Van Diemen's Land, and from thence to Sydney and New Zealand; where, though no discoveries of new territory could be made, he hoped to be able to increase his collection of objects of natural history. But he found the natives so discontented at the effects of the Treaty of Waitangi, which bound the chiefs to give the British Government the refusal of any portion of their lands which they were disposed to alienate, that he feared to permit his men to make long excursions into the interior of the country. After a time, however, he so far conciliated one of the chiefs, named Awara, that he allowed trees to be cut down to furnish the ships with spars, to replace those which had been damaged in the heavy gales to which they had been exposed. And he strengthened the friendly feeling which Pomare, another chief, felt or professed to feel for the British nation, by giving him some rum, of which both he and his wife drank rather more than was consistent with the maintenance of the royal dignity, and by presenting the lady also with a portrait of his own sovereign, which the flattered and tipsy princess construed into a recognition of her quality with her British sister. From New Zealand he crossed over to the Chatham Islands, chiefly for the purpose of making magnetic observations; and then, steering southward, on the first day of 1842

he again crossed the Antarctic Circle, cutting it on this occasion at a point forty degrees more to the eastward than that on which he had entered it the same day of the preceding year. Bad as the weather, and dense as the ice-pack had been in 1841, he found both worse now. He had not proceeded a fortnight when, though it was midsummer, he found both the ships completely beset; and, while he was still in the centre of the pack, a terrific gale came on, which threatened to dash the ships to pieces against the huge masses of ice, of which no skill could keep them clear. For eight-and-twenty hours he had scarcely a hope of saving either ship, and he believed that he should not have succeeded in doing so, had it not been for the admirable conduct of every one of his men. Justly feeling that he could give them no higher praise, he pronounced their "coolness, steady obedience, and untiring exertions, every way worthy of British seamen." And these virtues at last brought them safely through the greatest perils that perhaps were ever mastered by human skill and energy. At last the gale abated; but still the pack extended for an incredible distance across their path, and they had passed through nearly eight hundred miles of its threatening masses before they reached the clear water beyond. Then again fearful gales fell upon them, accompanied with cold so intense that the waves froze as they were dashed upon the sails, and left fish also frozen in the mass. At last, by incessant perseverance, our navigators reached a point to the south of the utmost boundary of their last year's voyage, and began again to examine the vast barrier of ice which had so excited their amazement and stopped their progress then. But the pack began to close behind them so rapidly that they were able to explore but little of it; and Ross now bore up for Falkland Islands, intending to winter there, and from thence make one more attempt to penetrate to a high latitude.

The weather became worse and worse ; the gales more frequent and more violent ; the icebergs more enormous. Usually the Terror, being by far the worse sailer, had been in the greatest danger : but now on one occasion, the Erebus was the ship which was threatened with the more immediate destruction, when the Terror, in an endeavour to keep clear of an iceberg suddenly seen ahead at the break of day, dashed violently against her, and jammed her between herself and the mountain of ice, which rose far above her masthead, and at every lurch seemed likely to carry away the masts and yards, if not to crush the hull of the fated ship ; while another berg, of almost equal dimensions, frowned over her, within a few yards' distance on the other side. Still dauntless, even in this extremity of peril, Ross bade his men loose the mainsail, brace the yards bye, and haul the maintop on board sharp aback ; and by this expedient, desperate as in such weather he justly pronounced it to have been, the ship gathered stern way, and, though her boats were carried away by the overwhelming waves, and the lower yardarms still scraped hoarsely and ominously against the face of the berg, she at last cleared it and its fellow mountain, the space between the two not exceeding three times the little vessel's own breadth.

At the beginning of April the squadron reached the Falkland Islands ; and in that comparatively milder climate the men soon recovered their strength, which had been somewhat impaired by the length and severity of their exertions. They also refurnished the ships with wholesome provisions ; parties of hunters being sent on shore, who had no inconsiderable success among the herds of cattle which were found in great abundance on different parts of the islands ; varying their game occasionally by the pursuit of wild horses which roamed about in similar troops, and which, when more legitimate objects could not be met with, were not despised either as sport or as food.

In the autumn, Ross crossed over to America ; and, having in a brief visit examined parts of Tierra del Fuego, and formed some acquaintance with the Fuegians, who, though in some respects they reminded him of the Esquimaux of the North, appeared, on the whole, a race inferior to them in intelligence and civilization, he returned to the Falkland Islands, and quitted them in December to make a third descent into the Antarctic regions. They presented here the same character as on the opposite side of the globe ; if it may not even be said that they were more inhospitable than ever. At least his progress was arrested at a point far to the north of that which he had reached in the two preceding years ; and almost the only result of importance which was obtained from this third attempt, was the circumstance that a calculation of the position of the magnetic pole from the opposite side to that on which he had previously formed his estimate, confirmed his original calculation, and also his conviction that there was but one such pole in the southern hemisphere ; though mathematicians at home, compelled to rely solely on calculations made at a distance, had suggested the existence of three.

His farthest advance in 1843 was to the seventy-first degree of latitude : and then, finding the pack before him impenetrable, and the weather rapidly becoming worse, he perceived that, if he would avoid the danger of being beset for the whole winter, he must at once bear up towards the north. He decided on doing so, and on the 4th of March, brought the ships round and steered for the Cape of Good Hope. Five days afterwards he saw the great comet, ascertaining its true character some days before it was seen at the Cape or at Barbadoes, and a whole week before it was noticed by Sir John Herschel in England. He tried also to find the island to which the French discoverer, M. Bouvet, had given his own name, but failed to hit upon it, though on his return home he learnt that it



was not unknown to Mr. Enderby's whalers. He likewise continued his observations on the temperature of the sea; finally coming to the conclusion that, at about  $56^{\circ} 20'$ , S. lat., there is a circle where the mean temperature of the sea, which he fixed at  $39^{\circ} 5'$ , prevails throughout its entire depth; in other latitudes it varies in such a manner that in the tropics the water does not become so cool within twelve hundred fathoms of the surface, while in latitude  $45^{\circ}$  it does not become so warm within six hundred fathoms. The remainder of his voyage, though not uninteresting nor unimportant in the magnetic observations which he made at Rio Janeiro, St. Helena, and other places at which he touched, presented no adventures of a peculiar character. At the beginning of September he reached England to receive the honours well earned by, and cheerfully paid to him, as the vanquisher of unprecedented difficulties, and the successful extender of the naval and scientific renown of his country.

The voyage was unanimously considered to have been a great success, and almost naturally, it reawakened the desire to achieve a corresponding triumph in the north; which, in the belief of many sanguine, but at the same time experienced travellers, was certain eventually to reward a resolute perseverance. Since Sir John Ross's last voyage, something had been done, though not by sea, to facilitate the desired object. Mr. Dease and Mr. Simpson, two enterprising servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, in a series of journeys between the years 1836 and 1839, had explored a great portion of the coast of the mainland. One season they reached Cape Barrow, in the west; in another, they had worked back to the eastward, and had discovered Victoria Land; and in a third they had coasted along in the direction of Boothia, to the strait which, bearing one of their names, as Simpson's Strait, divides King William's Land from the continent. From the mouth of the Great Fish, or Back's River, which

falls into that strait, to Behring's Straits, the existence of a passage by sea was now fully ascertained; and consequently all that was wanted to the full discovery of the North-West Passage was the establishment of a communication between that point and Barrow's Strait or Melville Sound, which had been traversed by Parry in his first voyage. It seemed but a short link which was now wanting to complete the chain; and, after some pressure from the Royal Society and other scientific bodies, the Admiralty decided on sending out one more expedition: while Sir John Franklin, who had recently returned from his colonial government, pressed his claim to the command of it with such earnestness that, in spite of his age, which, as he was kindly reminded by Lord Haddington, the First Lord of the Admiralty, was his only disqualification, it was given to him; and the *Erebus* and *Terror*, whose fitness for such a voyage had been so fully tested in that of which a sketch has just been given, were got ready to repeat, as was hoped, their triumph at the opposite extremity of the globe.

Franklin was now fifty-nine, and it might have been feared that advancing years had chilled his blood and diminished his constitutional strength, so as to unfit him for the severities of a lengthened sojourn in an Arctic climate, and so it too fatally proved; but, in other respects, probably no man could have been found so well fitted for the post to which he aspired. He had been inured from his earliest youth to the perils and hardships of voyages of discovery, having been one of the crew which Flinders had led to the Australian seas, as that officer had shared the labours and benefited by the instructions and example of the great Cook. He had not indeed hitherto commanded a naval Arctic expedition; but, besides his land journey which we have already mentioned, he had made a second, in which he had penetrated to the hundred and forty-ninth degree of W. longitude, beyond which there could be but little difficulty in making one's

way to Behring's Straits; and in the two journeys he had displayed not only courage and endurance to overcome every danger, and every hardship, but a fertility of resource, and a mastery over the minds of those with whom he was brought into contact, which eminently fitted him for command. What was perhaps of equal weight, there was no man alive so confident of the practicability of the enterprise; nor one to whom its accomplishment was a matter of such earnest personal desire. His second in command was Captain Crozier, who, as midshipman or lieutenant, had been in all Parry's expeditions; and who, as we have just seen, had more recently been Ross's comrade in the south. The other officers and the whole of the crews of both vessels were carefully selected; and in May, 1845, the expedition weighed anchor in the Thames and sailed for Davis's, and, as they almost undoubtingly hoped, for Behring's Straits. They met with heavy weather, and with one storm of more than common violence, as they worked up the eastern side of Baffin's Bay. Pack-ice of unusual bulk delayed their passage as they stood across towards Lancaster Sound; but they were not men to be baffled by trifling obstacles; and on the 26th of July, some of our whaling vessels saw them in the middle of the channel, almost at the western edge of the pack, waiting in tranquillity and apparent safety to avail themselves of its first opening to advance into Lancaster Sound. They were never seen again by their countrymen: the greater portion of them were never again beheld by a human being, save their own comrades.

The year 1846, one of unusual severity in those seas, as was proved by the hindrances which the whaling-vessels met with, passed without their being heard of; but no intelligence was as yet expected from them. Those who sent them forth never conceived it possible that they should reach their intended goal in less than two summers; and, as the ships were victualled for three years, all were pre-

pared to wait with patience till 1848. But even at that date no tidings were received ; and anxiety, which perhaps had been already felt by some, began to be openly expressed by many for the safety of the expedition. One man had ventured to give utterance to such a feeling a year before ; and it is remarkable that it was the very man who had himself been imprisoned in the Arctic Seas for the longest period ever known, and whose protracted absence had then excited fears for his safety, similar to those which now rendered him impatient for his friend. In the first months of 1847, Sir John Ross volunteered to go in search of the absent ships, with a supply of provisions : but the Admiralty, and such men as Parry and Richardson, whom they consulted, saw no cause for apprehension ; and the offer was declined. But by the next year the case was altered : it appeared certain that Franklin had been arrested in a manner which they had not anticipated, and the Government at once took energetic steps to seek for and succour him. Ships, the chief of which was the *Herald*, Captain Kellett, were sent up the Pacific to Behring's Straits to work eastward, in the hope of meeting him : but the expedition from which most was expected was one placed under the command of Sir James Ross, who, with two ships, the *Enterprise* and *Investigator*, was despatched up Baffin's Bay to follow, as nearly as might be, in his track. As if it were intended to show how little human skill can effect in those gloomy regions, of all the searching expeditions sent out in this and the next six years, none failed so utterly as this, which was entrusted to the most experienced and most renowned navigator of all. Among the *Enterprise's* lieutenants were two who subsequently made their names immortal by their efforts in the same cause, Robert M'Clure and Leopold M'Clintock ; and who displayed abundant promise of their peculiar fitness for such undertakings in this expedition. But on this occasion all their energy and abilities availed them nothing. So early did

the winter close in round them, that by the 11th of September they were forced to take up their winter-quarters in Port Leopold, at the north-west corner of Prince Regent's Inlet; and fifty weeks elapsed before the breaking-up of the ice again set them at liberty. Throughout the spring, Ross sent forth sledging-parties in every direction, but all their labours were fruitless: and when at last, on the 28th of August, 1849, he was able again to put to sea, it was too late to hope for success by any attempt to advance to the westward; his provisions too were almost exhausted, and he had no alternative but to return home.

The apprehensions which had been entertained a year and a half before, now ripened into one general irrepres-sible alarm: and, as the honour of the naval service seemed concerned that no effort should be spared to convey the promptest succour to comrades who, if they were still alive, must evidently be exposed to the most fearful hardship and suffering, for the next two or three years proposals poured in to the Admiralty from officers undertaking to search the Polar Seas in every known or conceivable channel; every offer doing honour to the gallant hearts and sagacious heads that framed it. Nor is it possible to overpraise the self-devotion with which so many sought permission to leave safety and comfort at home, for the chance, which many of them must even then have felt to be desperate, of saving their absent countrymen. The most remarkable of all the plans submitted to the Admiralty was one addressed to them in October, 1850, by Lieutenant Sherard Osborn, in which, with a singular felicity of conjecture, he enumerated "Felix Harbour, the Great Fish River, and Simpson's Strait," as places where it was likely that the missing travellers might be found: thus pointing out with marvellous precision the course which they were afterwards found to have taken. And, in accordance with one or another of these plans, several expeditions were despatched by the Government, and by private individuals, that on the largest

scale being entrusted to Captain H. Austin in the *Resolute*, with Captain Ommanney in the *Assistance*, and Lieutenants S. Osborn and J. B. Cator in the screw steamers *Pioneer* and *Intrepid*. Before the end of September the squadron found itself icebound at Griffith Island, and there took up its winter quarters, having already made one discovery from which important results were at first hoped for. The *Assistance* and *Intrepid* had touched at Beechey Island, and had discovered, on it and on the adjacent coast around Cape Riley, enclosures, tombstones, spars, pieces of rope, and other relics belonging to the missing ships, which proved that they had passed their first winter at that spot. With the return of spring Austin sent out travelling parties in every direction, which discovered and explored a great extent of fresh ground, but failed to meet with any more indications of the course which Franklin had taken after leaving Beechey Island. Another, and, from its results, a more memorable expedition was one for which the *Enterprise* and *Investigator* were recommissioned, under Captain Collinson and Commander M'Clure. Sir James Ross had failed so entirely on the eastern side of the Arctic Seas that it was determined to recommence the search from the opposite quarter; and, when these ships sailed on their second voyage, in January, 1850, their instructions directed them to make for Behring's Straits, and then to work to the eastward; the exact course which they should take being judiciously left to their own discretion. On the voyage out the *Investigator* proved to be the worst sailer; and, singularly enough, the great success with which she met was primarily owing to this very defect. More than once on her way out she fell behind the *Enterprise* and parted company; and when she reached the Sandwich Islands she was so far behind her consort that, as the only chance of overtaking her, Captain M'Clure resolved to depart from the usual track by which vessels bound to the north bore away to the coast of Kamschatka, and steered straight for the Aleutian Islands;

though the channel through them was but imperfectly known, and strong tides and frequent fogs were said to render the navigation among them a task of great delicacy, if not of great danger. It was a bold resolution, especially for an officer who was only second in command; and it was rewarded with the good fortune which such boldness deserves, and generally meets with. In sixteen days the Investigator passed the Aleutian Islands; in nine more she had cleared Behring's Straits, and entered the Arctic Circle: having thus saved five weeks at a most critical period of the year; and, though Captain M'Clure was not aware of it, having now in her turn left the Enterprise far behind her. Seeking his commander, whom he believed to be still in advance of him, M'Clure pushed on to Cape Lisburne, the last point of rendezvous which had been agreed upon; and then, as he failed to find him there, and was wholly uncertain whether he had passed that point or not, he took upon himself the responsibility of proceeding, and from this time forth his voyage may be looked upon as a separate expedition: for the Enterprise, keeping the usual track along the Kamschatkan coast, had had a passage as bad as that of the Investigator had been favourable; and, though she had left the Sandwich Islands some time before her consort, she did not reach Icy Cape, which is within a hundred miles of Cape Lisburne, till the 22nd of September, or more than seven weeks after the Investigator had passed. There Captain Collinson learnt, from Captain Moore of the Plover, that M'Clure had gone forward; but the season was now far too advanced for him to be able to follow with safety; and, as his instructions ordered him in such an event to avoid wintering in the ice, he returned to Hong-kong, there to wait till the return of summer might allow him to resume his voyage.

Meanwhile M'Clure pushed forward with all the speed which he could make. On the 5th of August he rounded Point Barrow, the northernmost headland of Russian Amer-

ica, and could now turn his ship's head straight towards her desired goal, in the eastern waters of the same Arctic Ocean in which he was sailing. The wind was nearly foul; and the sea to the northward was already crowded with huge floes and hummocks of ice, but close in along the coast, which shoaled so much that the ice, from its great draught of water,\* could not reach it, was a narrow channel of open sea, which M'Clure selected for his path; and which, in addition to other advantages, presented this further recommendation, that it would keep him in frequent communication with the natives, and so increase his chance of obtaining information of Franklin or his companions. He was in fact visited, as he passed, by more than one party of Esquimaux; from whom he could himself obtain no intelligence, such as he sought, but his meeting with whom proved so far fortunate that the next year they gave information of his route to those who were following in his steps. By sailing and towing he now made slow but steady progress. By the 14th he arrived at Return Reef, the farthest point which Franklin himself had reached in his second overland journey; and, though his difficulties increased rapidly, shoals in some spots barring the channel in front of him, while on the other side the ice thickened with formidable rapidity, by the end of the month he reached Cape Bathurst, scarcely more than ten degrees of longitude from the land discovered by Parry above thirty years before. Here again he fell in with a party of Esquimaux, who undertook to convey a letter, containing a report of the progress he had made, to the settlement of the Hudson's Bay Company. They were friendly: the ladies of the tribe were even more than friendly; they banqueted our men liberally on stewed whale, and with this unwonted

\* Parry had estimated that six-sevenths of every piece of ice was below the water; consequently a floe which rose only five feet above the sea would have thirty feet of ice below the surface, or, in nautical language, would draw thirty feet of water, or more than any ship in the British navy.



plenty, and the still more welcome, as more unaccustomed, fascination of tender glances and soft speeches, so won upon the proverbially impressible hearts of our sailors, that more than one of them acknowledged a feeling akin to that which had seduced Christian at Otaheite, and, had he not been under the happy guidance of a higher sense of duty and of a more unselfish patriotism than that unhappy mutineer, would cheerfully have remained at Cape Bathurst, to earn, as a successful whale-killer, the honour of having a streak of blue paint drawn across his nose and the happiness of two wives of so industrious and affectionate a race.\*

But such temptations had no lasting power over the faithful band obeying the orders and inspired by the example of the gallant M'Clure. They remained faithful to their flag; and soon their perseverance was rewarded by discoveries such as the most sanguine among them had not ventured to hope to make in a single season. Still keeping close to the coast, on the 5th of September they reached Cape Parry; making, as they went, one discovery of a most unexpected character, in a series of volcanic fires issuing from an old landslip not more than fifty feet above the sea-level, with pools of water in their neighbourhood, strongly impregnated with copperas; and they had hardly cleared Cape Parry when, on their left hand, they plainly saw land, which their charts at once proved to have been unseen by all previous travellers. They at once stretched across to it, took possession of it in the name of their royal mistress, and christened it Baring's Land, in honour of the First Lord of the Admiralty, Sir Francis Baring;

\* Among the Cape Bathurst Esquimaux the women rowed the boats on their whaling expeditions, and the only man in each crew was the harpooner; and the reward of the latter, after a successful day's sport, was such as is mentioned in the text, "a line of blue paint drawn across his face over the bridge of his nose," and the privilege of being allowed a second wife.—See 'Discovery of the North-West Passage,' by S. Osborn, p. 93.

and in ignorance that Banks's Land, to which Parry had given its name, though he had been unable to set foot on its shores, was the northern district of the same island. As its coasts trended in the direction in which he wished to proceed, M'Clure kept along it, and the next day saw another island on his right, which he named after Prince Albert; and then resolutely, though not undoubtingly, since the waters which he was entering might prove a bay and not a strait, he steered the ship up the narrow channel between the two, rightly judging that, if there were indeed an opening at the other end, it must conduct him into the waters which had already once yielded to the enterprise of Parry, and in some part of which, therefore, traces at least of Franklin might be confidently expected. The strait varied in width from fourteen to thirty miles; and, as three weeks of open weather might still be reasonably hoped for, there seemed every probability of his connecting his track with Parry's before the winter should overtake him; perhaps even of wintering in the same harbour which had sheltered the Hecla and Griper on that officer's first voyage. Indeed, on the 9th of September, the observations placed the Investigator within sixty miles of Melville Sound; and with this knowledge the men worked on with daily-increasing confidence, cheering one another with the assurance that the North-West Passage must be completed in a few days. But, however apparently well founded, their hopes were not to be realised; not, at least, in the way they had looked for. The very next day the weather became worse; rapidly-forming ice began seriously to retard their advance; and, on the 11th, when nearly half of the intervening space had been accomplished, they had the mortification of finding themselves immoveably beset. Once or twice the ice around them opened, and the wind, which had moved it, bore them also a mile or two on their course; but before the end of the month the Investigator was finally fixed in the pack,

within a short distance of an island, to which her captain gave the name of the Princess Royal, while ordaining the strait in which it lay to bear that of the Prince of Wales.

As soon as the vessel was covered in, and all preparations for meeting the coming winter were completed, M'Clure equipped a sledge-party to proceed along the coast to the point which he had vainly hoped to reach in his ship. He led it himself. Short as the journey was, in actual distance, it was attended with intense hardship, since the Investigator had not been originally provided with the apparatus necessary for labours of that kind; and they had scarcely any cooking apparatus of a portable character: while the fact that they were as yet only at the beginning of winter increased their toil, from the softness of the snow over, or, as should rather be said, through which they had to travel. The little fire which they could kindle would scarcely raise the melted snow, which served them for water, to a lukewarm heat, and was wholly inadequate to soften the pemmican, or compressed meat, which was their only solid food. Of the small party, they were but eight in all, one fell ill from utter exhaustion, two more became crippled with frostbites. The iron constitution and nerves of their captain did not yield; but, had the journey lasted more than a week, he would have had to prosecute it by himself; the week, however, had not elapsed when, on the morning of the 26th of October, the sun at its rising revealed to him that he was looking down on the eastern mouth of the strait in which his vessel lay. On his right hand the land which he had named after Prince Albert took a sudden and acute turn to the south-east; on the left Baring's Island, the identity of which with Banks's Land of Parry, he now began to suspect, making an almost straight line with Prince Albert's Land, sloped towards the north-west. In front, its communication with Prince of Wales's

Strait, only barred by the ice, lay Melville Sound ; which Parry had reached from Baffin's Bay on his first voyage. The North-Western Passage was discovered. At the same time, the sea in front and on both sides of them forbade all further progress ; so, with proud and thankful hearts, and with strength recruited by the grandeur of their success, M'Clure and his men returned to their ship.

Four years elapsed before the voyagers who had made this great discovery returned to their country ; and, though not altogether barren of results, they were, in the main, years of disappointment and mortification. The summer of 1851 did nothing towards releasing the Investigator in the direction in which M'Clure most desired to see her freed ; and, after many a vain endeavour to force his way through the short thirty miles which lay between him and Melville Sound, he was compelled to abandon the attempt, and to try and make his way to the same point by turning back, and working round Baring's Land, till he should thus reach the spot, in his ship, which he had already beheld from the shore. He did not, however, get beyond that island the whole summer. At first he had unusually fair weather, and proceeded for three hundred miles without being once embarrassed by the ice ; but, in the third week of August, as he began to work up the western coast of Banks's Land, the face of the sea changed : a vast pack of ice covered the water, leaving but a narrow channel between it and the shore ; and it was only by great skill and unwearied labour that, in the course of another month, he was able to get round Cape Austin, the northern point of the island ; and soon afterwards he was glad to take up his quarters in a bay which, in gratitude for its shelter, he named the Bay of Mercy. There again he prepared to winter ; and there it may be that the Investigator still lies, for she never quitted it under his command. In the spring of 1852 he sent out walking and sledging parties ; in one of which he himself crossed the ice to Melville Is-

land ; visited the winter-quarters of his gallant predecessor, Parry ; found a notice left by Captain Austin, who had reached that spot in the preceding year, that a boat with provisions was left at Beechey Island ; and on the sandstone, on which Parry had carved the record of his sojourn, he himself now added a statement of his own exploit, and of his position on the other side of the strait. This act of foresight eventually proved the salvation of his crew. Throughout the summer the ice never once opened : Mercy Bay saw them pass a second winter between its headlands ; earning a fresh title to its name by the abundance of game, reindeer, musk-oxen, hares, and ptarmigan, which its shores supplied, and which were obtained so continually that our travellers began to believe that it was a mistaken idea which represented these animals as migrating to a more southern climate in the depth of winter ; and that it had arisen from the circumstance that, during the absence of the sun, there was seldom light enough to distinguish them at any distance. The winter of 1852-53 was one of absolutely unprecedented severity. The thermometer fell to sixty-five degrees below zero ; and this unparalleled cold began to produce its effect on men whose strength was unavoidably impaired by a sojourn of above two years in these fearful regions. In spite of all M'Clure's care (and no captain was ever more vigilant or more judicious in his solicitude for the health of his men), the sick-list contained above a fourth of their whole number ; and it was not likely to be diminished since, from time to time, it was found necessary to reduce their provisions ; while even the "two-thirds rations," on which they had been subsisting for the past year would soon, it was feared, be found too much for the remaining stores to supply. As the only hope of saving the ship, and the lives of the invalids, M'Clure at last decided that, on the return of spring, he would send the weakest of his crew overland, towards points where they

might expect to find assistance, and, with the remainder, he would himself stay by the Investigator, and try to get her to sea; or, should it be needful, remain out in her even a fourth winter.

When April came, he prepared to carry out this determination. The travelling parties were selected, and the sledges equipped. One party of fifteen men was to try and reach our North American settlements, another was to make for Beechey Island; and, slight as the chance seemed to be that men as weak as the half-recovered invalids could survive the fatigue of even the shortest of these journeys, yet they willingly prepared to undertake them, conscious that they afforded the only chance of saving their lives: and they were on the point of starting, when unexpected relief came for the whole crew. In the spring of 1852 alarm was beginning to be felt in England, not only for Franklin's expedition, all hope of saving which was nearly abandoned, but for Collinson's also; and a fresh expedition, on a larger scale than any preceding one, was sent out; which, on its arrival in the Arctic Seas, was to divide itself, so as to search them in both north and west at the same time. Sir Edward Belcher, in the Assistance, had the chief command, and with him were Captain Kellett in the Resolute, Commander M'Clintock in the Intrepid, and Commander Richards in the Pioneer. When they separated, Sir Edward with Commander Richards took the northern line up the Wellington Channel; Captain Kellett with M'Clintock steered to the west, and, the sea about Barrow's Strait being unusually open, reached Melville Island, and having visited Winter Harbour, without noticing the record which M'Clure had left there in the spring, fell back to Dealy Island, on the same coast; as affording a more sheltered spot for their winter-quarters. But as soon as the ships were safely housed, Captain Kellett sent out travelling parties; and one of these, under command of Lieutenant Meham, revisiting Winter

Harbour, discovered M'Clure's record on the sandstone, and bore back to his commander the glad tidings which it conveyed. The moment that the spring of 1853 permitted the resumption of these journeys, Lieutenant Pim, of the *Resolute*, was despatched with a party to Banks's Land, to ascertain whether the *Investigator* were still there ; and there he found her, just in time to prevent the dispersion of her crew. M'Clure returned with him to Dealy Island to consult Captain Kellett ; and Captain Kellett, as senior officer, taking him under his command, soon came to the conclusion, which M'Clure's affection for his ship had prevented him from adopting, that the *Investigator* must be abandoned. Indeed, her abandonment had become a peremptory duty, for, though the thirty men whom M'Clure had selected to stay behind, as his own comrades, were willing to remain, a strict medical examination pronounced that only four of them were still in health so vigorous as to enable them to do so with safety. M'Clure himself could not but coincide in the propriety of Captain Kellett's decision. The *Investigator*'s stores were landed, and carefully deposited under a cairn, as a supply for any other crew which might find itself hereafter in the neighbourhood, and in want of such aid : and then, having secured the good ship in her station, and hoisted the British colours at her masthead, the captain led his whole crew to Dealy Island, there to find a means of returning home in safety.

Their troubles were not yet over. The first moment that the ice opened, Captain Kellett, having previously sent forward Lieutenant Cresswell, of the *Investigator*, with despatches to Beechey Island, and having divided the *Investigator*'s crew between his two ships, set sail with them for the same point. Lieutenant Cresswell arrived safely at his destination, and being there picked up by Captain Inglefield, in the *Phoenix*, reached England in the autumn with the news of his captain's success. But the

comrades whom he left behind were less fortunate: they had been at sea only three weeks when both the *Resolute* and *Intrepid* became imbedded in the ice, which that year broke up later and formed again earlier than usual; and, after drifting about helplessly for some time, till at last the whole pack became stationary off Bathurst Land, were forced to winter there. From this point at the opening of the next spring Kellett sent one of his officers, Lieutenant Hamilton, to Sir E. Belcher with a report of his situation, and of his plans for the ensuing summer.

Unfortunately Belcher, though a skilful surveyor, and a man of proved courage, before he was sent on this expedition had had no experience of the perils and peculiar difficulties of Arctic navigation, and he appears to have been wholly bewildered by them, and by the privations to which they subjected him. When he first separated from Captain Kellett he found the sea, towards the north and north-west, unusually open, and penetrated without much difficulty a considerable distance in that direction, finding an open sea to the north of Bathurst Land, where he wintered; and from which, the next spring, he sent out travelling parties, under Commander Richards, Lieutenant S. Osborn, and other officers, who traversed a great extent of land, much of which was previously unsurveyed, but who failed to find any traces or to gather any intelligence of Franklin and his ships. The next year, however, he made less progress. He was unable to force his way down Wellington Channel, but was compelled again to winter in the ice a few miles from Cape Osborn; and the hardships of two winters in those regions had made such an impression on his mind that he determined, even if the sacrifice of all his ships should be the consequence, to escape a third. Accordingly he now sent orders to Captain Kellett to leave his ships and bring the crews to Beechey Island, intending at the same time to abandon those which he had with him, the *Assistance* and the *Pioneer*, and to



proceed to England with all the men in the *North Star*, which had been sent to that island with provisions.

Captain Kellett, having more experience of the Arctic regions, was better able to judge of the grounds for fear and hope which such expeditions presented: he was also strongly imbued with the feeling that no disgrace to a sailor is equal to that of losing his ship, when it is possible to save her. That it was possible to save the *Resolute* and *Intrepid* he had no doubt; and in reply to Sir E. Belcher's order, he sent Captain M'Clintock to him, to explain that the ships were in a most favorable position for getting early out of the ice, and returning to England the next summer; and that men who abandoned them under such circumstances "would deserve to have their jackets stripped off their backs." Sir Edward, however, had had enough of Arctic enterprise, and repeated his orders in a more peremptory and more formal manner, which Captain Kellett could not venture to disobey. The ships were deserted; the crews were divided between the *North Star*, the *Phoenix*, and the *Talbot*; the two latter of which arrived from England just as the former was on the point of sailing, and in them they hastened home.

The superior accuracy of Captain Kellett's judgment, and the utter needlessness of the sacrifice of the ships, against which he had so strongly and so vainly protested, was shown in a singular manner. The *Resolute* was set free by the ice in the course of the summer; and, deserted as she was, drifted down Barrow's Strait and Lancaster Sound into Baffin's Bay: she even reached Davis's Straits, and re-passed the Arctic circle, and was still on her way to the south, when the captain of an American whaler, perceiving that she was empty, took her in tow, and conducted her to New London in Connecticut. The American Government, which had shown a noble sympathy with our lost officers, and with our national efforts to succour them, bought the *Resolute* of

her new owners, refitted her, and despatched her to England as a present to the Queen: an act of high-minded and delicate liberality, which was worthily appreciated at the time, and which certainly testified with irresistible evidence to the good feeling with which both the Government and people of the United States regarded their mother country.

Captain M'Clure and his men were received with great honour in England, as men deserve to be received who had at last discovered and made the North-West Passage. They still remain the only crew that has ever passed through the whole length of the Polar Seas. But they were not the only discoverers of the passage: nor was the channel which they discovered the sole, or even the best water-road that in those latitudes connects the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Captain Collinson found another, and apparently a more practicable channel; and, though at the outset he was less fortunate than his second-in-command, in some important respects his voyage, taken altogether, was the more successful. In various portions of his discoveries he had been anticipated by different overland explorers, by Dr. Rae, Mr. Dease, and Mr. Simpson: but he was the first to carry a ship through the strait, of which the two latter had only discovered the existence; he also discovered some traces of Franklin's expedition (traces, alas! had been all that for many years had been to be discovered), and he brought back the *Enterprise* in safety to England. We have related how, in the first year of his voyage, he was compelled to retire from the Arctic Seas for the winter: but with the return of spring, in 1851, he recommenced his task; and, keeping close to the coast of the continent, he too passed to the south of Banks's Land, worked up Prince of Wales's Strait, and found its northern end blocked up with an icy barrier, as M'Clure had found it before. He discovered also some notices of his progress, which that gallant officer had left on Princess

Royal Island ; and then, retracing his steps to the entrance of the strait, he rounded the southern end of Banks's Land, and worked his way for some distance along its western shores : till, finding his progress in that direction also barred by the ice, he returned and wintered in a sheltered spot on Prince Albert's Land, between Minto Inlet and Prince Albert Sound. In the spring of 1852 he sent out the usual travelling parties, which explored the greater part of the island ; and one of which, crossing the channel, reached Melville Island ; thus passing very near the spot where the Investigator was wintering, but, unfortunately, meeting none of her parties. The season was late, so that September arrived before the ice released the ships and suffered them to renew their voyage ; and then Collinson's first attempt was to work his way into Melville Sound through the gulf on its southern side, which seemed too large to be a bay, reaching, as it does, for above seven degrees of longitude, almost into the very centre of the island. It proved, however, to be no more than a bay ; but his labour, though disappointed of the result which he had hoped to attain, was not fruitless, since he had thus proved that Prince Albert's Land, Wollaston Land, and Victoria Land, were all portions of one large island : and now, returning to the entrance of the bay, (Prince Albert Sound), he steered to the south-east through Dolphin and Union Strait, passed the mouth of the Coppermine River and Dease Strait, and wintered in Cambridge Bay, at but a short distance from the eastern end of Victoria Land. He had scarcely covered in the ship when he was visited by a numerous company of Esquimaux, and found in their possession a few articles of metal ; one of which, part of a bolt-nail marked with the broad arrow, he suspected might have come from the missing expedition. On the Finlayson Islands also he picked up a large fragment of timber, evidently belonging to a Queen's ship, and which was subsequently proved to have come either from the Erebus or

the Terror; and, in the spring of 1853, a party which he conducted along the coast to the extreme eastern point of the island, found unbroken though ice-blocked sea to the north and east: thus not only establishing the existence of a passage in that direction, but of the very passage which Franklin, had his life been spared, would have endeavoured to penetrate; for in fact, at this very moment, Collinson was within about forty miles of the spot at which the Erebus and Terror had been finally abandoned five years before. Had his ship been as well supplied in all respects as it was stated to be when he left England, he would, at the return of summer, have pushed on to the eastward, and have sought his way home along the coasts of King William's Land and Boothia: but his coal proved so far short of the quantity originally stated, that it was now nearly exhausted, and this disappointment compelled him to seek districts where he might expect to get drift-wood to serve as fuel in its stead. He consequently retraced his steps along the coast of the mainland and wintered in Camden Bay, something more than halfway between Cape Bathurst and Cape Barrow. The next summer he resumed his journey homewards, had a prosperous voyage to Hong-Kong, and in May, 1855, reached Portsmouth, after an absence from home of five years and four months. Of all the expeditions which had ever visited these seas, none had been exposed to more severe or more protracted labour and hardship; none had penetrated to so great a distance, for fifty degrees of latitude extend from Point Barrow to Cambridge Bay; and, though the Investigator had anticipated the Enterprise in the discovery of the North-West Passage, yet the achievement of the latter is so wholly independent of that of her consort that she is entitled to an equal share of the credit.

It was afterwards ascertained that even Captain M'Clure was not the first discoverer of the North-West Passage: that honour belongs to the crews of the Erebus and Terror,

who laid down their lives in its attainment. The crew of the Investigator had scarcely reached England, when news arrived that Dr. Rae, an officer employed by the Hudson's Bay Company, in 1853-54, in the survey of Boothia and other adjacent lands, and who had previously made his name honourably known by his labours and discoveries in different parts of the same regions, had met some Esquimaux, from whom he had learnt that a large party of white men had died from starvation on the banks of a river to the westward, which he subsequently suspected to be the Great Fish or Back's River already mentioned. Further inquiries produced the statements that, some winters before, about forty men under the command of a tall, stout, middle-aged officer, and in evident distress for food, had been seen travelling with sledges over the ice off the northern shore of King William's Land; and that later in the same year, a corresponding number of corpses had been found on the continent beyond the river, or at Montreal Island, at its mouth. They had probably sought its stream as a guide to lead them to the Hudson's Bay territory, but their strength had failed them. They had shot a few wild fowl. The last survivors, in their misery and despair, had even sought to prolong life by feeding on the bodies of their happier comrades who had died before them; but this fearful resource did not avail them. Worn out with cold and famine, they dropped as they walked on, and each perished where he fell. The Esquimaux, from whom this touchingly grievous tale was derived, had possessed themselves of many of the articles found around the sledges, of the tents, and a boat which they had left on the shore; of pieces of plate, badges of honour, guns, telescopes, compasses, and other instruments intended to guide and support them on their journey; and what he could collect of these, Dr. Rae purchased and conveyed to England. It was at once felt that the intelligence which he thus brought extinguished all hope of the survival of a single member of

the lost expedition : and though its original promoters, with some of the most eminent of Franklin's professional brethren, and of those who had laboured zealously, though ineffectually, for his relief, urged the despatch of one more expedition to acquire more perfect information respecting the details of the calamity which had overwhelmed the Erebus and Terror, urging with forcible reasoning that the task would be one neither of great difficulty nor of uncertain success, since the point at which the party of forty men were first seen was evidently not far from that at which the ships had been abandoned, the Government, on whom rested a still heavier responsibility than that of giving advice, decided, not unreasonably, that it should not be justified in risking the lives of another crew when the preservation of a single man belonging to the missing ships was manifestly hopeless ; and, under an imperative sense of duty, refused the request so ably and so earnestly preferred.

Their decision has been denounced by many as harsh and unworthy of the nation ; but we cannot think that they misconstrued their duty in forming and adhering to it. There was, however, in the kingdom one person whose love and duty led her still more undeniably and irresistibly to an opposite conclusion. Sir John Franklin had left a widow, whose undying affection for her gallant husband, as, (while hope remained of succouring him, it had prompted her to send out two expeditions at her own expense, aided by the contributions of her and his friends and admirers, to seek for him,) now that that hope was gone, conceived it to be not less her duty to do her best to ascertain every particular of his fate which Providence might yet permit to be revealed. Accordingly, when the decision of the Government was ascertained to be final, she, with the assistance of some private subscriptions, purchased a small steamer yacht, the Fox, and placed it under the command of Captain M'Clintock, who has already been mentioned

as one of the companions of Sir James Ross in 1849, and of Kellett in 1852, and who, on that occasion, had displayed a fertility of resource and a talent for organisation that pointed him out as a man eminently fit for the task which, at her request, he willingly undertook.

He sailed from Aberdeen in July, 1857, and the commencement of his voyage was unfortunate. The ice in Baffin's Bay was so dense that he was unable to force his way through it, but was beset in the middle of the pack, and was tossed about for upwards of eight months; drifting down out of the Arctic Circle to a point but little north of the very entrance to Davis's Straits. It was April, 1858, before he got clear of his icy prison, and again beat up for Lancaster Sound. For some time he made fair progress; but in the middle of August he was again stopped by the ice in the middle of Peel Sound. He retraced his steps to the entrance of Regent's Inlet, and, descending that channel, reached and passed through Bellot Strait, which no ship had ever traversed before; but at its western outlet his path was again barred, and there he passed his second winter. The quarters, however, which he was now forced to take up were scarcely more than a hundred miles from the spot where the Esquimaux had seen the relics of Franklin's followers; and, at the first approach of spring, he led a sledging party southward in one direction, despatching a second in another, under Lieutenant Hobson; and their joint efforts were soon rewarded with all the intelligence that could now be looked for. M'Clintock met with a party of Esquimaux, who confirmed the tidings which Dr. Rae had learnt from their brethren; with the addition, that one ship had been crushed by the ice off the north shore of King William's Land, and that the other had drifted on shore, at some spot which they were unable to indicate; though some of their countrymen had visited the wreck, and discovered one corpse on board; and as the captain proceeded along the eastern and southern coast of

the island, at a short distance from Cape Herschel, he found a skeleton, which, from the scanty remains of clothing which lay strewn around, he imagined to be that of a steward or officer's servant. Meanwhile, Lieutenant Hobson had directed his course towards Cape Felix, at the north-western extremity of the same island. He had not proceeded far when he began to find tents, blankets, clothes, a boat's flag, and other relics; and a few miles further on, at a small headland known as Point Victory, he found a cairn, manifestly erected by Franklin's men, in which a tin case had been deposited, containing a paper with the brief but piteous narrative, written at intervals of nearly a year apart; the last entry being dated the very day before the survivors started on their journey to Back's River. It told that in the first year of his voyage, Franklin had conducted his ships successfully up Wellington Channel penetrating as far as the seventy-seventh degree of latitude, to the north of Bathurst Island, returning through the narrow strait which separates it from Cornwallis Island, and wintering at Beechey Island. The next year he worked down Peel Channel, and was hemmed in by the ice a few miles to the north-west of the cape where this record was found. The next spring he sent out travelling parties, and, when those who penned the first portion of this record left the ships on May 24, 1847, all was still well. In less than three weeks from that time a different tale had to be told. On the 11th of June Franklin died. In the course of the next ten months twenty-three more, of whom it is singular to remark that above a third were officers, shared his fate; and during the whole of that summer and winter the ice held the ships in its unyielding grasp.

Crozier still survived; but, when spring returned, he found his strength and that of his remaining comrades visibly wasting away, their provisions almost exhausted. As a last chance of saving their lives, he resolved to



abandon the ships ; and on the 26th of April, 1848, he started with a hundred and four men for the Great Fish River. From that day the sad tale told by the Esquimaux is the only record of their fate. It relates, indeed, only to one portion of the men ; and it is probable that they divided on leaving the ships, to increase both the facility of procuring food and the chance of falling in with assistance : but the end of one must have been the end of all. If men who have died in the discharge of their duty can ever be said to have died miserably, of none can it be more truly said than of the companions of Franklin : perishing by inches under the lingering tortures of cold, disease, and starvation ; driven at last, for their only food to cannibalism, the act which, of all others, is the most abhorrent to the soul of civilised man. They might have envied the criminal in his dungeon, the martyr at the stake ; but, even in the extremity of their suffering, gallant hearts like theirs were not without consolation. Dying though they felt themselves to be, they were dying in their country's service, and they had performed the enterprise which they had been sent out to achieve. To the west of the Great Fish River the line of sea had been already traced. When they placed their feet on its eastern bank the discovery of the North-West Passage was completed. They had set the coping-stone to the labours of Parry, and Ross, and Back, and of Franklin himself : they had fully earned the glory which, through such toil and suffering, they had sought ; and which, if ever their exploit should come to the knowledge of their countrymen, as, even in the pangs of death, we may be sure that they expected that it would come, and as it has come, they trusted to their country's justice not to let their memories be forgotten. That justice their country and the whole civilised world unanimously accords them. It is not usually wise nor safe to venture on prophecy. But it can hardly be reckoned bold to predict that as long as

dauntless courage, unshaken fortitude, and the successful achievement of arduous enterprise, excite the respect of mankind, Franklin, Crozier, and their followers, will ever be spoken of as among the brightest examples of these virtues ; attracting with permanent interest the admiration of the world at large, and the proud, affectionate recollection of their native land.

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

1815—1860.

Our wars with pirates—Lord Exmouth in the Mediterranean—Battle of Algiers—Subsequent boldness of the Algerines—French settlement of Algeria—Pirates in the Archipelago—Commander Hope Johnstone destroys a gang near Smyrna—Captain Walcott captures the Zaragoneza—Character of the Malacca pirates—Captain Chads in the *Andromache* is sent against them—Takes Gallang—And Siak—Crushes the pirates altogether—The Borneo pirates—Sir James Brooke—Captain Keppel is sent to Borneo—Destroys the pirates of the Sarebus and up the Batang Lupar—And up the Undop—And up the Sikarran—Sir W. Parker at Borneo—Captain Talbot in the *Songibasar*—Sir T. Cochrane at Bruné—Exploits of Captains O'Callaghan, Fellowes, Cresswell, N. Vansittart, E. Vansittart, and Lieutenant Wildman, in the China Seas.

THE fall of Napoleon had left us at peace with all civilised nations. But the very circumstances that had assisted us to carry our past wars to so triumphant a conclusion, the universality of our commerce, the extent and variety of our dominions, bringing us, as allies or sovereigns, in contact with people of every diversity of character, interest, and pursuit, did at the same time render our continued enjoyment of universal peace more than usually precarious ; since many of the nations with whom we had thus intercourse of one kind or other, had not only no sense of its blessings, but a deliberate habitual preference for war. Most especially was this the case with respect to the pirates who infested every sea, alike in times of peace and in times of war, and who were found not only in the distant extremities of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, but even in the European waters of the Mediterranean. Indeed it was there that they exercised their barbarous and nefarious calling with the

least disguise. As the recognised Sovereign of the Seas, we seemed to have the task of clearing their highway of these pests peculiarly marked out for us: we accepted the obligation with alacrity, and discharged it with unceasing energy.

The pirates in the Mediterranean were those for whose chastisement and suppression Christendom called with the loudest voice. It was not only that their greater proximity to the coasts of Europe caused their ravages to make a deeper impression, but that they really were more formidable both in their power and in the openness with which they exercised it. On the other side of the Atlantic pirates skulked about in single vessels, pouncing upon solitary traders; but the Corsairs of the Barbary coast sailed forth from their harbours under their national flag, attacking whole squadrons, not only seizing and plundering the ships, but, in their treatment of the crews and passengers, sparing neither age nor sex: outraging women, mutilating men, and condemning all to rigorous, hopeless, endless slavery. All Europe cried aloud for vengeance on such monsters; and felt at the same time that none but Great Britain could exact it. The Corsairs had the same feeling; and, uniting the cunning to the ferocity of savages, had hoped to avert our indignation, by having of late carefully abstained from attacking our vessels. But our detestation of their crimes had never, or only in a small degree, been influenced by selfish considerations: we had never been the greatest sufferers by them. It was in the cause of religion and humanity that we had armed against them before, and the influence of these holy voices over the nation was not weakened. During the year 1815 the return of Napoleon to France, and the disturbances which his attempt to regain his throne reawakened in Italy, delayed the execution of the measures which we had resolved to take in order to put a final end to the atrocities of the different Barbary States; but when, at the beginning of

the year 1816, peace seemed firmly re-established, and tranquillity on the Continent permanently secured, we resolved, before reducing our Mediterranean fleet, to avail ourselves of its imposing grandeur to exact from the Deys complete submission to such terms as should bind them to a perpetual abandonment of their lawless and inhuman practices.

Fortunately the Commander-in-chief on that station was Lord Exmouth, formerly known as Sir Edward Pellew, who, as the most distinguished of our living admirals, had been raised to the peerage at the peace of 1814 in recognition of the general services of the navy throughout the war. He had of late been engaged in a singular degree and manner in the preservation of order on the European side of the Mediterranean. In Italy the queen of the unfortunate Murat had taken refuge on board his ship. In France he had saved the great city of Marseilles from a body of its own countrymen, who, in a rebellion headed by a Marshal of the Empire, were marching on it with the avowed purpose of razing it to the ground. He now gladly received orders to proceed to enforce on Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers, the demands which our Government had resolved to make; and in March, 1816, he sailed with his whole fleet to the African coast to carry out his instructions. Tunis and Tripoli submitted almost without a remonstrance, agreeing also to abolish slavery in their dominions: a measure that of itself removed one principal motive of their piracies, which had been prompted as much by the necessity of obtaining slaves as by a desire for any other kind of booty. At Algiers he had but a modified success. When he demanded the free release of some natives of the Ionian Islands, which had recently become part of our dominions, and the right of ransoming the Italians and Sardinians who were detained as prisoners or slaves, the Dey consented; but when he proceeded to require the permanent abolition of Christian slavery for the future, he was met by a refusal and a defiance; and as, with more boldness than prudence, he had landed

himself to discuss his demands with the Divan, the populace, in all probability excited by their superiors to try to intimidate him by such conduct, rose in a tumult, seized one or two of his officers, and the British Consul; and showed an evident inclination to lay hands on the Admiral himself. Fully alive to the insult which had been offered to himself and to the nation in his person and that of the Consul, he would, had the wind been fair, at once have sailed in with his whole fleet, and inflicted instant chastisement on the audacious city. But, as the weather rendered such a step impossible, he was forced to renew the negotiation, though he could obtain no more than a promise to send an ambassador to England to discuss the whole matter.

Lord Exmouth was forced to content himself with this concession; and, strange as it may seem, he was not even certain that his conduct in having exacted so much would be fully approved at home, for he believed that a party among our traders, influenced by the base feeling that the fear of us which the Algerines entertained gave us in some degree a monopoly of the carrying trade in the Mediterranean, had no desire to see a stop put to their depredations on other powers. It is to be hoped that he was deceived in this opinion: at all events it was not shared by any party in Parliament, since, when the matter was discussed there, both Houses rang with condemnation of a policy which could enter into any treaty on such a subject: and no language was heard but such as insisted that it was our duty to compel the entire abandonment of their piratical habits by all the Barbary States, if necessary, at the cannon's mouth. And this resolution was, if possible, strengthened by intelligence that arrived in June, that an Algerine squadron had attacked a large body of Christians, engaged in the coral fishery off Bona, and had massacred or carried off into captivity the whole of the crews. Lord Exmouth had quitted the Mediterranean for England before this atrocity was committed; but on reaching home he

learnt what had taken place, and was also informed that our Government had resolved to send out a force sufficient to prevent for ever a recurrence of such horrible outrages; that he was to command it, and that nothing was wanting but to know the amount of the force which he considered necessary to secure success.

In his former visit he had made himself thoroughly acquainted with the character, extent, and strength of the fortifications. One of his ablest officers, Captain Warde, of the *Banterer*, had secretly surveyed them with the greatest minuteness, and, as was subsequently ascertained, with the most entire accuracy: and, relying on his information, Lord Exmouth now demanded a force the smallness of which struck the authorities of the Admiralty with astonishment. The truth was, strange as it may appear, that all the plans and charts in their possession were grossly incorrect. They gave four miles as the extent of the fortifications facing the sea, though in reality they did not exceed one mile. The entrance to the harbour, which was from a hundred and twenty to a hundred and thirty yards wide, they represented as a mile in width; in their description of the shape of the coast, and the nature of the defences they were equally wrong. The Board, therefore, had no means whatever of forming an accurate judgment of the force which was necessary, or indeed which could possibly be employed; and the members were surprised beyond measure when they found that Lord Exmouth limited his demands to five or six sail of the line, as many frigates, four bombvessels, and a few sloops. Even Nelson, twelve years before, deceived in all probability by the charts above mentioned, had spoken of ten\* sail of the line and as many bombvessels as the smallest force which could be trusted to humble the Dey effectually. And it was not to be supposed that any other officer could perform a service with smaller means than that hero had thought requisite. But, by a statement of the real magnitude of the place, Lord Exmouth

\* 'Despatches,' vi. 45.

easily satisfied his questioners that no larger force than that which he mentioned could be so placed as to act with effect; and the fleet placed under his orders was exactly such as he had specified.\* With it on the 28th of July he weighed anchor, and sailed from Plymouth on as holy an errand as ever was entrusted to a Christian warrior. Without his wishing it, his force was strengthened by a Dutch squadron of five frigates, under the command of Admiral Von de Capellan, whom he met at Gibraltar, and who solicited the honour of sharing in his enterprise with such earnestness, that, without churlishness to an old ally from whom we had so long been severed, he could not well refuse his request; and, with his fleet augmented by this addition and by that of five gunboats which he caused to be fitted out at Gibraltar, on the morning of the 27th of August he came in sight of Algiers.

Even on the scale to which the accurate survey of Captain Warde had reduced its defences they were sufficiently formidable. Of the seaward face of the town every yard bristled with batteries, armed for the most part with several tiers of heavy guns. Forts of unusual size commanded the approaches. The Mole alone, which near the northern end of the town projected about a quarter of a mile into the sea, and bent round in a south-westerly direction to meet another pier, which with it formed the principal harbour, had upwards of two hundred guns. Altogether more than five hundred guns, of which very

- |       |                         |                                |
|-------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|
| * 100 | Queen Charlotte . . . . | { Admiral Lord Exmouth, G.C.B. |
|       |                         | { Captain Brisbane, C.B.       |
| 98    | Impregnable . . . .     | { Rear-Admiral D. Milne.       |
|       |                         | { Captain Brace, C.B.          |
|       | { Superb . . . . .      | Captain C. Ekins.              |
| 74    | { Mindon . . . . .      | Captain Paterson.              |
|       | { Albion . . . . .      | Captain Coode.                 |
| 60    | Leander . . . . .       | Captain E. Chetham, C.B.       |
| 40    | { Severn . . . . .      | Captain Hon. T. W. Aylmer.     |
|       | { Glasgow . . . . .     | Captain Hon. A. Maitland.      |
| 36    | { Granicus . . . . .    | Captain W. F. Wise.            |
|       | { Hebrus . . . . .      | Captain E. Palmer, C.B.        |

And 9 gunboats and bombvessels.



few were of a lower calibre than 24 pounds, looked down upon the sea ; an army of at least four thousand men, all taught by their religion to consider death in battle with Christians as a certain passport to Paradise, had been brought from the interior of the country to man them ; in addition, the whole Algerine fleet, consisting of nine large frigates and corvettes, and nearly fifty gunboats and bomb-vessels, lay ready for service in the harbour. The entire force could not be reckoned much less than double that which was preparing to attack it. The Dey had heard of Lord Exmouth's approach, and, though he could not be said to have shown any signs of fear, betrayed an irresolution which evinced some distrust of the adequacy of his means to meet the impending danger. He still detained our Consul in confinement ; and when Lord Exmouth sent Captain Dashwood in the *Prometheus* sloop, to demand his release, he refused to liberate him, or even to promise his personal safety : telling the Captain that he knew that the British Admiral was coming to attack him. He also seized some of the *Prometheus's* men, and threw them into his dungeons as slaves. Yet he allowed Dashwood himself to sail out of the harbour, and even sent after him his infant child which some of the janissaries had seized.

On the morning of the 27th the wind for a time died away so completely that the fleet was forced to lie to ; and Lord Exmouth took advantage of the delay thus interposed to send in a boat under a flag of truce, demanding instant submission, and the release of our countrymen. Presently a breeze from the sea sprang up and bore the ships towards the shore. And, when the boat returned with the intelligence that no answer had been given to the Admiral's demands, the fleet, without a moment of further delay, sailed in to the attack. The Queen Charlotte led the way to the Molehead, which the Admiral had selected as his own point of attack, and cast anchor at about fifty yards from the entrance of the harbour, lashing herself also to the

mainmast of a brig which was fastened to the shore at the very end of the Mole. The Algerines as yet had not interrupted her operations by a single shot, and the Admiral began to hope that at this the last moment they were about to avert their fate by submission, when a gun was fired at the flagship, and two more at the *Superb* and *Impregnable*, which were following nearest to her. The *Queen Charlotte* opened her broadside in reply, and at half-past two the battle began on both sides. Every battery of the Algerines poured forth an incessant fire; and our ships, as each took her station on the very spot the Admiral had marked out for her, replied with equal vigour and far more fatal aim. Probably at that time no British fleet had ever gone into action with so formidable a band of gunners. Aware of the strength of the place to be attacked, and bent on proving the truth of his favourite assertion that no defences made of stone could resist the fire of a line-of-battle ship, the Admiral had spent every week-day of his passage out in training the captains of the guns to careful and accurate firing; daily a target, not more than a yard square, was hung at the foretopmast studding-sail boom, at which they practised with a twelve-pounder secured on the quarterdeck, till they had attained such a state of proficiency that they never missed the target, and very commonly hit the bull's-eye, though it was not so large as the ball they fired at it: twice a week this practice was carried out on a larger scale; the whole fleet cleared for action, and fired broadsides, each ship vying with her comrades in the rapidity and regularity of its fire. Against crews so trained and so led the ferocious valour of barbarians was of but little avail. Still they fought with indomitable courage: and served their guns with such skill that Admiral Milne in the *Impregnable* was compelled to send to the Commander-in-Chief for additional support, so severely was his ship suffering from the fire of the batteries, the heaviest in the whole line of defence, to which she was

exposed. Captain Maitland, in the Glasgow frigate, went to his aid; an explosion-vessel was blown up exactly under the fort which most annoyed him: and, thus relieved, the Rear-Admiral continued his fire upon the enemy as unremittingly as those who suffered less. The importance of the position he had taken up, and the weight of fire to which he was exposed, are shewn by the fact that above a fourth of the loss sustained by the whole fleet fell on his ship.

For above six hours the cannonade was maintained without any apparent intermission by both sides: before it had lasted two, the Algerine gunboats worked out of the harbour, thinking, amid the confusion and the smoke, to find an opportunity of boarding the Queen Charlotte and the Leander, which, commanded as gallantly as at the Nile, had here also thrust herself into the thickest of the fight, and had cast anchor on the flagship's larboard bow. She was the first to see the attack with which she herself and her chief were thus menaced; and with a steady aim of her long guns sent most of the advancing gunboats to the bottom; and the Admiral, seeing what had been attempted, and what had happened, resolved to increase the impression which the failure of the gunboats had made, by the destruction of the other vessels within the harbour. He sent in his first-lieutenant, Mr. Peter Richards, in the Queen Charlotte's barge, who boarded the innermost frigate and set her on fire; carcass-shells burnt another, and the flames communicating to the rest of the closely-packed squadron presently set the whole in a blaze. By eight o'clock the issue of the battle was clearly foreshadowed; yet still the fanaticism and ferocity of the barbarians inspired them with resolution to maintain their gallant resistance. Nine o'clock arrived before their fire could be said to have slackened: ten before it was silenced in any part of the line; and it was nearly midnight ere their cannonade wholly ceased. The very moment that the victory was

won, the Admiral began to draw off his ships, lest any of them, disabled by the damage which they had sustained, should be driven ashore. Fortunately a land-breeze sprung up, helping the fleet off, and, with the aid of warping and towing, by two the next morning every ship was anchored out of gunshot of the town. The precaution proved superfluous: the whole line of the defences of the town had been utterly ruined, and when, the next morning, an officer was sent on shore with a letter from Lord Exmouth, reminding the Dey, somewhat superfluously, one might think, that "a signal chastisement" had been just inflicted on him, and demanding instant compliance with all Great Britain's demands, he was met by a promise of entire submission. After a brief discussion, it was agreed that all the slaves detained in any part of the Dey's dominions should at once be given up; that Christian slavery should be for ever abolished; that the British Consul should receive an apology, and an ample indemnity for the insults and injuries which had been heaped upon him. The money that had been paid in the spring as ransom for the Italian and Sardinian captives was refunded. The Dey further consented to enter into a treaty with the King of the Netherlands similar to that which he concluded with us, so that we took quite as much care of our allies as of ourselves; and a signal proof of how disinterested our action in this matter had been was afforded when the slaves came to be released. Above three thousand Europeans were restored to liberty by the success of our fleet; but of the whole number only eighteen were subjects of our sovereign; and of them every one had been in foreign service when he fell into the Dey's power.

Yet, severe as this lesson had been, it made no deep nor permanent impression on the barbarians who had received it. Eight years had not elapsed before the renewal of their lawless practices compelled us to renew our hostile demonstrations. We did not, however, think it necessary a second

time to batter the town, but contented ourselves with establishing a strict blockade of the port; and with the destruction of a large 16-gun brig which had been the chief offender, and which had taken refuge under the fortress of Bona. Sir Henry Neale, our Admiral in the Mediterranean in 1824, despatched Captain Spencer in the Naiad to capture her. She lay in a position which the frigate herself could not reach, and which was so strong that he hesitated to trust the attack to his boats alone; but his first-lieutenant, Mr. Michael Quin, was confident of success, and Captain Spencer yielded to his earnest entreaties to allow him to attempt the enterprise. It cannot be said that Captain Spencer's apprehensions were unreasonable: for the brig, by herself fully equal to an encounter with the boats of any frigate, had the support of a position which more than trebled her original strength. In a narrow bight within eighty feet of the castle of Bona she was moored by three cables, one at the head, one at the stern, the third being made fast to the shore; while forty guns could be counted on the fortress, some of which flanked her on either side, sweeping the narrow channel by which alone she could be approached; and others, the central part of the walls almost overhanging the deck, commanded it so completely as, in the opinion of the Algerines, to render any attempt to board her fatal to those who should make it. Those, too, of the garrison, four hundred strong, who were not required to serve the heavy cannon, kept up a ceaseless fire of musketry on the boats as they advanced. They could fire over their own vessel without fear, since the crew had landed, having removed her guns on shore to strengthen the cannonade of the fortress. Yet, in the teeth of the ceaseless and concentrated fire which was thus poured upon him, Lieutenant Quin made good his promise to his captain. Without flinching for a moment, he and his men reached the pirate, boarded her, and, as to remove her was soon found to be

absolutely impracticable, set her on fire in various places ; and did not leave her till she was in a complete blaze in all parts. By the time that they rejoined the Naiad, she blew up, and this destruction of what was now his only vessel which could be sent to sea, so daunted the Dey that he submitted to the Admiral's demands ; and the same despatch that bore home the account of the Naiad's achievement, announced also that all necessity for further hostilities had passed away.

From this time forth the Algerines generally abstained from provoking us ; but they indemnified themselves for this forbearance by attacking others whose injuries we had no particular call to avenge. But in the mean time the fertility of their soil and the suitableness of their situation were exciting against them an enemy as powerful as ourselves. Prince Polignac, the unfortunate Minister of Charles X. of France, had cast his eyes on their territory as a desirable acquisition, and in 1830 a dispute about a small sum of money which the Dey claimed from some French merchants furnished him with an excuse for hostilities. The seaward fortifications had been so fully repaired that they were now more formidable than they had been in Lord Exmouth's time : but the French, having views different from those which on that occasion had actuated our Ministry, and being bent on permanent conquest, exerted themselves in a different direction. Landing a powerful army a few miles from the town, they attacked it in the rear, where it was comparatively defenceless : in a brief campaign they took the city, overran the whole district, and expelled the Dey and the Turkish authorities. The Orleans dynasty, which had supplanted the Bourbons before the conquest was completed, adopted this portion of their policy, and established the city and surrounding district as a permanent French settlement under the name of Algeria. The Empire, which in its turn has supplanted the government of the Citizen King, follows its example in

this respect: and the country once the most untiring foe and plunderer of Christendom is now reckoned among the Christian provinces. Whether the benefit which France derives from the occupation be such as to counterbalance its disadvantages, is a question for herself: no national jealousy can prevent an Englishman from acknowledging that the downfall of the lawless and savage Deys, and the substitution of a Christian for a Mahomedan Power in so important a situation, is an undeniable gain to civilization and humanity.

The inhabitants of North-western Africa were not, however, the only Corsairs in the Mediterranean who at times called forth the gallantry of the British sailors to chastise their lawlessness. The Greek coast, full of bays and creeks, and still more the countless islets of the *Ægean*, encouraged depredations by the facilities which they afforded the depredators for concealment or escape, and in such a sea our frigates were wholly powerless; but our smaller vessels hunted out the pirates with great diligence, though with only occasional success. But on one occasion in 1826 a well-conceived stratagem enabled Commander G. Hope Johnstone, of the 14-gun sloop *Alacrity*, to destroy a very mischievous gang which was wont to lie in wait for our Smyrna traders. On the 6th of April the *Alacrity* sailed forth out of Smyrna Bay with her warlike character so effectually disguised that, as she passed the little island of Antipsera, two pirate vessels, such as in those seas are called *misticoes*, came out and chased her. They approached within two miles of her when they discovered her to be a man-of-war, and in a moment the tables were turned: they now hoisted out their sweeps and fled, and the *Alacrity* pursued; but, as they of course took care not to run before the wind, she was presently forced to give up the pursuit to her boats, which, under the command of Lieutenant Triscott, chased them for some hours, till they drove them ashore in the Bay of Ipsera.

The pirates, who were full fifty men, doubled the number of the crews of our boats, and as they approached received them with a heavy fire of musketry, which, however, hurt no one. After this ineffectual display of valour they escaped on shore, and the Lieutenant towed off the misticoes. The next day he in a similar manner captured two more, of a somewhat larger size. But it was not an example made of one or two isolated vessels or gangs, that could eradicate habits so inveterate among the islanders of those seas, that in no age do they appear to have borne or to have desired any other character than that of successful robbers. Such they boasted themselves in the days of Homer; such, with increased audacity and greater power, they were found to be by the great warriors who illustrated the last days of the Roman Republic. The Christian chivalry of Rhodes was unable to extinguish or even to materially check them. Under the fitful caprice of the Turkish rulers, sometimes chastising them, oftener conniving at their outrages because Christians were the chief sufferers by them, their audacity increased till we, extending our commerce into every corner of the seas which they infested, as of every other, began after the Peace of 1815 to exert ourselves with systematic purpose to put them down. But it was not till a Christian dynasty was established at Athens that any real progress was made in effacing the stigma of three thousand years; or in rendering the loveliest sea that the world can show a safe highway for the unarmed, much less for the wealthy traveller.

On the other side of the Atlantic the pirates were even more merciless; they were also more audacious, relying on the protection which they received from the authorities of the Spanish settlements, who, with nefarious supineness, or still more guilty connivance, permitted them to take refuge in their different harbours, even exchanging salutes with them when, as was often the case, they hoisted the



Spanish flag. In the first years of the reign of George IV., Aragonéz, the captain of a schooner known as the Zaragoneza, was conspicuous among his fellow pirates for the success of his cruises; and he had gained a more horrible pre-eminence by the protracted tortures to which he was wont to put the unhappy victims who fell into his hands. At the beginning of 1823 he heard that our ships had taken and hung some of his comrades, and that others were in search of himself; and knowing that his own crimes were too black for pardon, and wishing to make his crew as desperate as himself, by implicating them all in the murder of a British subject, he seized a poor wretch, a native of Jamaica, whom he had found on board one of his prizes, and, fastening him to the schooner's spritsail-yard, he made his whole crew shoot at him; and then compelled them to swear on the crucifix, that, if any British crew should fall into their hands, they would hang the officers and murder the crew as they had murdered this their fellow-subject. The intelligence of his successes, his barbarities, and his despair, reached Sir Charles Rowley, at that time our Commander-in-chief on the West Indian station, and he, being resolved on his capture, towards the end of March despatched Captain J. E. Walcott of the Tyne in pursuit of him, giving him full notice of the desperate character of his mission, but charging him to regard neither his own life nor that of his men in comparison with the duty of delivering the whole district from such a monster. Captain Walcott cheerfully undertook the task; and, taking the Thracian sloop, Commander J. W. Roberts, under his command, began to search the Bahama Channel and the eastern end of Cuba, in which neighbourhood the Zaragoneza had last been seen, with such success that on the 31st he discovered a vessel answering her description cruising off Baracoa under the Spanish flag. As well as he could he disguised his ships to look like merchant vessels, and stood towards her under

easy sail ; but she could not be deceived, and made off for Mata, where was a small harbour scarcely two hundred yards wide at the entrance, and where the water shoaled too much for either the Tyne or Thracian to be able to approach. She was seen at once to moor head and stern, with her broadside commanding the harbour's mouth : and as this action removed from Captain Walcott's mind every doubt as to her true character, he stood in after her as near as he could, and made preparations for an instant attack. In general boats have waited for the cover of night to proceed against ships in order to avoid exposing themselves to their heavy guns ; but, as in this instance the capture of the crew was of more consequence than the destruction of the vessel, Captain Walcott departed from the ordinary practice ; though so fully aware was he of the increased danger to which an attack by day exposed all who were to be concerned in it, that, instead of entrusting the enterprise to the Commander of the Thracian, he resolved to lead it himself. Soon after midday he left the ship with fifty-six men, his boats being marshalled in two divisions, to board the pirate on both sides at once ; and pulled towards her steadily, with as much speed as was consistent with the other parts of his plan. For, as he must necessarily be exposed to the schooner's broadsides, he designed also to open fire on her with the carronades of the pinnaces, and the musketry of a small body of marines, in order to baffle the pirates' aim by the smoke in which the boats would thus be enveloped. The moment that he came within shot, Aragonéz fired a single gun at him, and then hauling down the Spanish ensign, and hoisting in its stead a black flag at the main, and a red flag at the fore, began to direct an incessant fire of round-shot, grape, and musketry at the boats, which, owing to Captain Walcott's precaution, had but little effect. As they drew nearer the pirate ceased his fire for a few minutes, reserving his last broadside till they should have come so close that, as he reckoned,

they must all go down before it. But again the British Captain's tactics proved superior to his. When within about three hundred yards Walcott desisted from firing, and, having reserved his men's strength for this moment, pulled alongside with such speed, that the Zaragoneza's guns went over his head without injuring either boats or crew; and his audacity, and their own failure, struck the pirates with a sudden panic. Had they stood to their arms, the odds were still greatly in their favour; for they numbered eighty-four men, a force half as numerous again as our sailors; their boarding-nettings were firmly fastened, and the sides of their vessel had been carefully greased, so as to render the task of climbing the sides one of unusual difficulty. But the instant that our boats touched the schooner's sides, her men deserted her, leaping overboard into the sea, in the hope of escaping capture. Our boats, instead of the stern conflict which they had expected, had the easier task of pursuing the terrified wretches as they swam to shore. Many, of course succeeded in escaping; but we took twenty-eight, and Aragonéz himself among them. Two were admitted as king's evidence, and the rest were hung when the Tyne arrived at Jamaica; twelve had been killed in the action; and the Governor of Baracoa, compelled to exert himself by a requisition which Captain Walcott instantly sent on shore to him, captured sixteen more, all of whom had been wounded, in the woods, and executed them also. Our loss was two men killed, and four wounded; and if ever lives were well laid down, they were so in the extermination of such a band of atrocious monsters. The Admiral recorded his sense of the extraordinary skill and courage with which the attack had been carried out in a General Order; and few enterprises have better deserved such a compliment.

The Corsairs, however, of the Bahama Channel, like those who infested the Greek isles, sought their nefarious livelihood in single vessels; and to recapitulate the instances

in which our vigilant cruisers fell in with and destroyed them, gallant as many of the achievements were, would now be a wearisome and unprofitable task ; but in the Indian and Chinese seas the case was wholly different. The pirates of those waters, like those of Barbary, made no concealment of their trade. On the contrary, they boasted of it, and displayed the trophies won in it by their ancestors, articles of valuable plunder, and skulls of victims who had made a brave resistance, in all the spirit of emulous exultation. They went forth on their plundering expeditions with numerous fleets, arrayed, to the best of their savage taste, in all the pomp of war.

The most formidable of all from their ferocity, their numbers, their organisation, and their success, were those who from time immemorial had infested the Malacca Straits ; and to crush whom, though occasionally some officer of more than usual energy had inflicted severe chastisement on them, no systematic and sustained attempt had ever been made. But in May, 1836, the Governor-General of India resolved to make a vigorous endeavour to suppress them altogether ; the Naval Commander-in-chief, Sir Thomas Capel, placed the *Andromache* frigate, Captain Chads, at his disposal : and that officer, fully entering into the importance of the enterprise committed to him, not only to our commerce, but to the general cause of humanity, conducted it with such energy and skill as to outrun his Admiral's anticipations of success, in waters where the almost numberless islands, and creeks gave those acquainted with them facilities for eluding discovery and pursuit which, perhaps, no other part of the world affords. For the vessels of the pirates were equally adapted for combat and for flight : for combat, since they were usually armed with at least two heavy cannon and ten smaller guns and swivels apiece, and were manned with from a hundred to a hundred and thirty men ; for flight, since they were long, narrow for their length,

drawing very little water, and propelled by both sails and sweeps. The difficulty in dealing with such vessels was enhanced by another, namely, that of ascertaining their true character, since their outward appearance closely resembled that of the boats of the Rajahs and other native chiefs; and those rulers were not inclined to diminish the resemblance, but secretly encouraged and supported the pirates, since by their means they obtained slaves.

It was obvious that one of the most indispensable requisites for success was rapidity of action, such as might take the pirates by surprise, and overwhelm them before they were aware that any attack upon them was in contemplation; and Chads accordingly took his measures with such promptitude that, in little more than three weeks from the time that he first received his orders, he had discovered one powerful gang at the Arroas, and the Andromache's boats, under Mr. Reed, the first lieutenant, had utterly destroyed them. They had behaved with more than usual audacity, since it was a rare event for them to attack us, and they commonly preferred selecting the Chinese merchant-vessels, and native trading-vessels which trafficked with us; but on this occasion Lieutenant Reed, having divided his force, and first coming in sight of them with the pinnace alone, misled them into a false estimate of his strength, and instead of flying, they advanced boldly against him, with beating of gongs, and songs of triumph, while their commanders cheered by loud and repeated assurances, that "there was but one boat, and that she must be their own." When he opened his fire, they replied with a spirit quite in harmony with their boasts; but luckily their aim was too high, and their shot all went over our men's heads, while every shot from the pinnace told. Already the pirates were beginning to abandon the largest of their proas, and some of the smaller ones were drawing off, when our other boats came up, and cut off their retreat.

The conflict was now soon brought to an end ; proa after proa was captured, and their crews were put to the sword, refusing all quarter, but fighting to the last gasp, and displaying such undaunted ferocity that even those who had leaped overboard, as numbers did, still, while swimming by our boats, hacked and stabbed at our men with their swords and creeses, till at last all their vessels were captured, and almost every man was slain. As the *Andromache* worked down the western coast of the Malay Peninsula from Penang to Singapore, she dealt their comrades one or two similar blows ; but when she arrived at the last-mentioned island, her Captain found his task complicated by our relations with the kingdom of the Netherlands, since more than one of the native princes, whose complicity with the pirates was fully established, were to a certain extent under the protection of the Dutch Government. The Dutch Resident at Rhio, Mr. Goldman, scarcely attempted to conceal the jealousy with which he and his masters in Europe regarded the increasing prosperity of our trade with Singapore ; and was manifestly disposed to connive at any atrocities which might discourage the native traders of those regions from visiting our ports.

Among the places which Mr. Goldman looked upon as especially under his protection was the island of Gallang, against which Captain Chads, as soon as he reached Singapore, proposed to proceed, not only from his general knowledge that its harbours were among the most favourite headquarters of the pirates in that neighbourhood, but because he had also a particular ground of complaint against it at the present moment, having received certain information of the capture and plunder of a British merchant-vessel, which had been carried into its principal port. The case was so fully proved, indeed so notorious, that he thought himself entitled, in representing it to Mr. Goldman, to request from him the aid of some of his Dutch gunboats

to chastise the offenders ; but his demand was refused, and the Dutchman even endeavoured by every means in his power to divert Chads from his avowed purpose of vindicating our flag. His motives were seen through, and his wishes, expressed and implied, were treated with proper contempt by the straightforward British sailor, who at once proceeded to Gallang. Finding him thus determined, Mr. Goldman proceeded to open remonstrance, venturing, though he did not deny that the English brig had been captured, openly to avow that Gallang was under his sovereign's protection ; and promised at some convenient (but probably distant) opportunity, to go thither himself, and procure the restitution of so much of her cargo as he could find. Chads preferred trusting to his own instant action. He could not venture with the frigate herself into the shoal water which the pirates trusted to as their best defence, but he again placed the boats under the command of Lieutenant Reed ; and after three days' absence, that officer rejoined his ship with the news of a triumph greater than any of his former successes. After a long pull he had reached the harbour of Gallang, and had found it admirably adapted to the purposes of the pirates, being formed of a cluster of islets, divided by narrow and shallow creeks, many of which were of considerable length, while none of them had a sufficient depth of water to admit the entrance of any vessel larger than such boats as he had with him ; and accordingly the pirates, as Captain Chads had been informed beforehand, made it their principal resort. Lieutenant Reed found no fewer than fourteen proas of the largest class ; between thirty and forty of a somewhat smaller size, and rowing-boats innumerable. Some of them were being fitted out or under repair ; but a large proportion were ready for sea, fully armed and equipped : one, which he brought off as a specimen of the rest, was sixty-one feet long and twelve broad, and drew only three feet six, though she had a 12-pounder in

the bows, three smaller guns on pivots amidships, and a numerous crew, forty-two of whom pulled at the sweeps, while almost as many more were told off to fight the guns, and to board any victim which they might overtake. She had also a musket-proof stockade, fourteen feet wide, four feet and a half high, and fourteen inches thick across the bows, to serve as a shield for the crew. But, notwithstanding these ample means of defence and offence, her men seemed panic-stricken at the approach of our boats, trifling indeed as our force was in comparison of theirs : and after firing one or two rounds, by which one of our sailors was killed and another was wounded, they leaped overboard to make their escape into the jungle on shore, and left their whole fleet in our hands, every vessel of which, with the exception of the one already mentioned, the Lieutenant burnt before their eyes. He also set fire to their villages, and this severe example naturally increased the terror of all their comrades in the district : so that, when the *Andromache* turned to the north, and proceeded up the eastern side of the peninsula to Pahang, the Rajahs vied with one another in disowning all knowledge or countenance of piratical practices on the part of any of their subjects ; agreed to Chads's demands, that for the future they should give formal passports to all their vessels engaged in lawful trade, and permit him to treat as pirates all who were unprovided with such documents ; and, what to a British heart was a still dearer object, they liberated a number of unhappy beings who, having been taken in vessels which different gangs of pirates had captured, had been sold as slaves in their dominions. Most of them belonged to Cochin China ; for, as the laws of that country forbid their seamen to carry arms, they are of course an unusually tempting prey. But some also were Javanese, whom Captain Chads restored to Mr. Goldman, without, however, producing any alteration in the disposition of that gentle-



man either towards us or towards the pirates, of whose malpractices he could no longer affect to be ignorant.

At different parts of the coast, which the report of former sufferers or any peculiar appearance of the vicinity indicated as suspicious, the boats from time to time went in, sometimes working their way up several miles of shallow rivers; but rarely finding anything to justify hostile measures, so completely had the terror caused by our previous success and judicious severity driven the pirates from their haunts. At one place only, the entrance of the creek leading to Siak, did Chads meet with any resistance; but there he found a small but well-equipped and resolute squadron of six large proas, which made so vigorous a resistance that he did not subdue them without the loss of seventeen of his own men killed and wounded. Their loss he estimated at not less than half their entire number; and among them were the two chiefs Panglema Awang and Panglema Jamil, whose influence, valour, and conduct were held in the highest estimation among the whole fraternity of Corsairs.

In three months from the first commencement of his operations, Captain Chads was able to report, and his statement was fully confirmed by the local authorities, that piracy was greatly diminished; in fact, that no pirates on either side of the Malay peninsula ventured either to put to sea, or even to lie in any creeks or mouths of rivers which were accessible to our boats. And for the moment his task was over. He was, however, too accurate a judge of the Malay character to image that his exertions had done more than scotch the snake for a while, and he recommended that a small steamer of a light draught of water should be kept hovering about those coasts for some time to come, which might not only keep alive the impression which he had made, but might also gradually acquire a more extensive knowledge of the various channels and creeks to which the pirates resort than he had been able to

obtain. In October he himself returned to Madras, leaving Commander Quin, in the Raleigh sloop, and one or two gunboats, to continue to prosecute the measures of which he had thus laid the foundation; and the judgment with which they carried out his plans was seen in the comparative safety which they who frequent those seas have ever since enjoyed.

Still more formidable in every respect were the pirates of Borneo, but as they lay rather out of the track of those vessels which chiefly traded with us, their chastisement was delayed a little longer. At last, in the year 1843, our attention was attracted to that island by the successful establishment in it of a countryman of our own, Mr. James Brooke, a man than whom Britain has produced few sons of whom she may be more justly proud; a man in whom are happily blended moderation with firmness, unflinching courage with statesmanlike sagacity, a keen insight into the character and motives of others, with a just and patient allowance for them even when most different from the principles of himself and his own countrymen. These high qualities, all under the regulations of a pure and unmistakable philanthropy, singularly qualified him to gain the confidence of barbarians, and to diffuse the influence of his nation among strange tribes and countries; and the Sultan of Borneo had recently established him as the perpetual ruler and possessor of Sarawak, a town and district on the western side of that splendid island, in which he had been resident for three or four years, and of which he had for some time previously had the virtual, though unauthorised, management.

He had scarcely, however, taken possession of the district in his new character when he found his power threatened by the pirates from other parts of Borneo and from adjacent islands, who had never yet been taught to recognise the superiority of Europeans, and who had especially a belief in British wealth and a contempt for British

valour founded on the facility with which, nearly seventy years before, their forefathers had expelled a settlement of the East India Company from the northern part of the island, and from Balambangan; and on the enormous booty which they had then obtained from the plunder of the Factory. Their notions of Mr. Brooke's riches were wholly erroneous, and he resolved to show them that they were equally mistaken in his character: yet, his own resources, even when augmented by the utmost aid on which he could reckon from any of the princes of the island, were manifestly inadequate to cope with them. For it was no trifling force with which these pirates were wont to issue forth on their expeditions. Their flotillas seldom consisted of fewer than twenty vessels, and often greatly exceeded that number; while each vessel (prahu was the name they gave it) carried on an average seventy or eighty well-armed men, and was equipped with guns of three, four, and six pounds, besides several swivels, and with muskets sufficient to arm most of the crew. They were propelled by sails and forty or fifty oars, and, though of great length, drew but little water, and could consequently retreat up creeks and streams, whither nothing capable of coping with them on equal terms could follow them. While Brooke was revolving in his mind these difficulties and the scanty means at his disposal for overcoming them, he suddenly heard that a British frigate, the Dido, Captain H. Keppel, was on its way to Borneo, having been sent thither by Sir William Parker, the moment that the successful termination of the Chinese war left that gallant Admiral at liberty to turn his attention to the suppression of piracy in those seas, the security of which his own brilliant achievements had rendered an object of national importance to Great Britain.

A very brief acquaintance sufficed to make the two men agree to co-operate. Brooke was delighted at seeing certain means of realising his object thus unexpectedly

proffered to him; and Keppel, eager for any operation that promised a fight, was thankful for a meeting with one who would be at once his guide to the pirates' haunts, and the most effective ally that he could desire in assailing them. He had scarcely reached Sarawak when he had a skirmish with a small flotilla which attacked him by mistake, as they afterwards alleged when he had routed them and captured some of their largest prahus; and as this trifling exploit showed his inclination, and his power of carrying it out, he soon received a formal request from Muda Hassin, the heir apparent to the throne of Borneo, and Rajah of the province in which Sarawak lay, to make war on the pirates of the rivers Sarebus and Sikarran, "who had more than three hundred war-prahus; were not subject to the Government of Borneo, but took much plunder from vessels trading between that island and Singapore." Keppel gave a courteous reply to a letter whose contents were so welcome, and had probably been in some degree concerted with him, and at once prepared for the war to which he was thus invited. Relying on the information he obtained from Brooke, he wisely decided that to intercept the squadrons of these pirates while at sea would be useless, since the most decisive defeat would only drive them from one cruising-ground to another; but that it was necessary to attack them in their own strongholds and harbour, so as to teach them a lesson which should not only be felt by themselves, but should also of necessity be known to all the surrounding tribes. Yet, to approach those strongholds in force sufficient to strike a decisive blow was not easy. They lay at least a hundred miles inland, up the Sarebus and Batang Lupar, two rivers to the north-east of Sarawak, neither of which would admit such a vessel as the Dido, so that the work had to be performed by boats alone. All that could be done in the way of preparation was to make the boats as strong as possible. The frigate furnished her pinnace, two cutters

and a gig. Brooke brought the Jolly Bachelor, a large boat which he lately built at Sarawak, and which, like the pinnace, carried one heavy long gun; and another larger vessel conveyed supplies. Brooke also brought a large party of natives; and several chiefs of different adjacent districts came with contingents which looked considerable on paper, which were not useless in the actual warfare that ensued, and which were unwearied in ravaging and destroying the pirates' dwellings and towns after their English allies had driven out the owners. The British were eighty men; their savage allies were at least four times that number. The whole expedition was placed under the command of Lieutenant Horton, first of the Dido, though Keppel himself accompanied the expedition as a volunteer.

On the 8th of June the boats finally left the Dido at the mouth of the Sarebus, the more distant of the two rivers, and began to ascend the stream which no European, at least with hostile purpose, had ever penetrated. The pirates had been forewarned of their intended expedition, and had done everything in their power to hinder them from approaching. Huge booms made of trees, with all their branches untrimmed, barred the way; and at more than one spot well-placed forts commanded the stream, and poured a heavy fire on the boats the moment that they came within shot. They had three principal towns: the two nearest, Rembas and Pakoo, lying up small rivers which fell into the Sarebus on the right or northern side; the third, Paddi, being placed at a point where the Sarebus is divided into two branches which come down upon the main stream at right angles. Each town was defended by heavily armed forts and stout booms stretched across the river within range of the fort's guns. Captain Keppel wisely resolved to attack Paddi first, and by the capture of that stronghold to cut off the retreat of the gangs of Pakoo and Rembas. The pirates

had reckoned also on the river itself interposing no slight obstacle, since it is usually subject to a swell, like that known in the Severn as "the bore," caused by the meeting of the tide and the stream. But on this point their calculation deceived them, since the bore had scarcely ever been so calm as on the day that our boats were exposed to it. The pirates themselves professed to believe that Brooke, the Tuam Besar, or Great Man, as they justly entitled him, had laid a spell on the bore. The boom itself was more formidable, and the circumstance of its being made in two parts had very nearly proved fatal to the expedition; for Keppel, who, with Brooke for his companion, was leading on his gig, having squeezed through the narrow crevice left between the two portions, was nearly cut off from his followers, and was in great danger of being borne by the tide wholly unsupported among the pirates who were lying above in great force. However, he and one of his men kept up a vigorous fire with a couple of rifles; the other boats soon cut the lashings that held the boom together, and the moment that the whole squadron passed the attack began. The pinnace, having a heavy twelve-pound carronade, poured a rapid fire on the forts, while the lighter boats pulled in to the land, and the crews, led by Mr. d'Aeth, a mate of the Dido, sprang ashore and charged fearlessly up the hill on which the forts stood. The audacity of this movement completely paralysed the savages. They had placed great confidence in their boom as sufficiently strong to detain our boats before it long enough for the forts to batter them to pieces with their cannon; but when they saw the barrier cut to pieces and the fearless sailors charging up to the muzzles of their guns, they looked upon men who were capable of such a feat as irresistible, and fled without attempting to offer any further resistance. Our whole loss was confined to three men wounded in the pinnace while engaged in cutting the lashings of the boom. We destroyed the forts,

and our native allies burnt Paddi. This success, so decisive and so cheap, made a great impression on the neighbouring tribes, and broke the spirits of this division of the pirates. A large reinforcement from a tribe known as the Linga Dyaks (from the river Linga, on the banks of which was their chief settlement), came and placed themselves under the British Captain's command; and the pirates themselves, when they found the next day that Keppel was preparing to prosecute the advantage which he had gained, submitted to the terms he dictated, promised to abandon piracy for ever, and offered to give hostages for their good behaviour.

Keppel now retraced his steps down the main river till he came to the stream that led up to Pakoo. Its defences were stronger than those at Paddi; but the garrison had not expected us so soon, and, being taken by surprise, made scarcely any resistance. Their town and forts were destroyed; the same terms were imposed on them as on their comrades at Paddi, and without delay we proceeded to Rembas, the last of their strongholds. This was the strongest place of the three; but Keppel, before he reached the town, landed a division of his forces which took the pirates in the rear, and they fled without even stopping to fire the guns, which the Dido's men found ready loaded.

Further operations were for a time suspended by her recall to China; but the next year Keppel returned to complete his task with additional means, having also under his command the *Phlegethon*, a steamer belonging to the East India Company, and of a lighter draught of water than the frigate. It was fortunate that he returned so soon, for the Sikarran pirates had taken advantage of his withdrawal to show themselves in great force; and they were the more dangerous since the River Batang Lupa, up which their settlements lay, was much nearer to Sarawak than the Sarebus. They were also more numerous, and more powerful, than their fellows in that river. Seriff

Sahib, their chief, had not fewer than a hundred and fifty war-prahus under his command ; and he had fortified his chief town, Patusen, so strongly that he believed it to be impregnable. On the 5th of August, 1844, Keppel left Sarawak on this second expedition : the next day he entered the Batang Lupar ; and, after a long pull, before midday on the 7th he came in sight of Patusen : having on this occasion also escaped any hindrance from the bore, which, especially at spring-tides, is usually more violent and dangerous here than in the Sarebus. It was evident that the fortifications here were much stronger than any which he had encountered in the preceding year ; but he adopted the same tactics that he had found successful at Paddi, and with the same result. As he advanced up the river, some forts on the bank opened a tremendous cannonade on him, which he was unable to return with all the effect he had intended, since, from the defective state of their priming-tubes, none of the Phlegethon's guns would go off : the boats, however, kept up a smart fire till they reached the bank beneath the forts, then the men springing ashore charged the forts with a loud cheer, and the pirates fled without making any further resistance. A resolute garrison might have held it against ten times the force that Keppel was able to bring against it ; for the forts were armed with nearly eighty guns, and among the booty were found two tons of British gunpowder ; but, though fierce enough against any foes whose mode of fighting was similar to their own, the pirates were panic-stricken at the dashing gallantry of our sailors. Sheriff Sahib fled into the jungle, while we destroyed his forts, his town, and everything belonging to him that could not be carried off. And then Keppel proceeded up the river till he came to the point at which the Sikarran and Undop fall into it from opposite sides. It was necessary to penetrate up both those streams ; for, on the Undop, Sheriff Muller, the brother of Sheriff Sahib, reputed to be almost as powerful, and even more ferocious,



had a town and fort, bearing the same name as the river, and garrisoned by fifteen hundred Malays; and up the Sikarran was Karangan, the capital city of the whole nation, if nation it may be called. Our men made short work of Undop: the pirates had endeavoured to block up the river with barriers of untrimmed trees; but, when we had forced our way through these obstacles, they fled, and allowed us to burn their town without resistance.

Unhappily our subsequent operations, though equally successful as far as regarded the destruction of the pirates, were not equally free from loss to ourselves. Sheriff Muller, with the main body of his gang, had retreated to a village twenty-five miles higher up the Undop, and thither Keppel resolved to pursue him: but not only had our own sailors by this time conceived a contempt for the enemy, but that feeling had spread among our allies also; and, leading as it did to acts of inconsiderate rashness, it had its result in the loss of many valuable lives. As we advanced towards the village we had several skirmishes in which we were uniformly victorious, captured numbers of prahus, and very nearly made Sheriff Muller himself prisoner; but, when we reached the landing-place, Mr. Wade, the First-lieutenant of the Dido, greatly esteemed by his captain as a most valuable officer, rushed forward unsupported, as if he could storm the enemy's position by himself, and fell riddled with rifle-bullets on the open space on the bank of the river. The village was soon carried and destroyed, and then returning again to the main river, Keppel led his force up the Sikarran to attack Karangan. He had eight English boats, four belonging to the Dido, three to the Phlegethon, and Mr. Brooke's Jolly Bachelor; and forty or fifty native boats under the command of Paturgi Ali, an old chief whose fidelity to Brooke might safely be reckoned upon. As he advanced, he saw evident proofs that his approach was expected and guarded against. He succeeded, however, once or twice in surprising small parties of the pirates,

who, though they posted sentinels carefully, never kept a look-out in more than one direction, and, whenever an attack came from an unexpected quarter, were as completely bewildered as if they had expected no attack at all.

Captain Keppel was fully prepared to find the pirates of the Sikarran the most formidable body that he had encountered at all; but even he had hardly expected to meet the hosts of enemies who first attacked his boats as they approached Karangan. It seemed to him that they could only be reckoned by thousands; and, as the boats of his native followers mingled with those of the pirates, from which they were not easily to be distinguished, an indescribable scene of confusion arose. At last British order prevailed: our flotilla got clear of its enemies, and began to advance, and, as one of the Dido's gigs was fortunately furnished with some Congreve rockets, which the savages had never seen, we began to make a visible impression even on their overwhelming numbers. Still however, dismayed as they were, they kept up a stern fight, assailing our men not only with missiles of bamboos, loaded at one end with stones, resembling what we call life-preservers, but with poisoned javelins which they hurled with great accuracy of aim. They had also plenty of muskets, but, from their want of practice in loading them, those weapons were nearly useless. Gradually they were beaten back; but preserving their cunning, they managed, even in the midst of their defeat, to inflict a severe blow on their conquerors. Paturgi Ali, with one or two of his leading boats, and with some of our men who had gone on board of them, pressed on too eagerly through a narrow opening in one of their barriers of trees: seeing him almost unsupported, six of their largest prahus, each conveying about a hundred men, turned upon him; their comrades launched huge rafts of bamboos behind him to cut off his retreat, and succeeded only too well. Though surrounded by tenfold numbers, he and his followers

fought bravely for a while. Our men on the other side of the barrier saw him and Mr. Steward, an English volunteer who had accompanied him, boarding one of the prahus after their own boat had sunk; but of the whole party only one escaped; the rest, upwards of thirty men, perished, it is to be hoped, in the fight. Their comrades avenged them by the utter destruction of Karangan, but their loss shed a gloom over a triumph which was of no slight consequence to civilization in general, and especially to the safety of commerce in those seas.

Before, however, that safety could be looked upon as fully ensured, it was necessary to suppress another gang, whose chief haunt was in the northern part of the island, in the Bay of Maloodoo near Labuan. After the destruction of Karangan, the Dido had quitted Borneo; but the next year Sir Thomas Cochrane, who had succeeded Sir W. Parker as Commander-in-chief, visited the island, and, hearing that the chief of this gang, Seriff Osman, had been strongly fortifying a position which he had taken up in the Songibasar, one of the rivers which fall into that bay, he proceeded thither to reconnoitre the bay himself; and, finding that the water was too shallow to allow even the smallest of his sloops to sail up the river, he formed all the boats of the fleet into a squadron which he placed under the command of Captain Talbot, and sent that officer up the river in pursuit of Osman; leaving it to his discretion to forbear attacking the pirate, if, on arriving in front of his position, he should find his own force inadequate to the enterprise. Any failure would have so damaged our reputation among the savages, and would by so doing have given them such encouragement, that the Admiral rightly conceived that the attack must not be ventured on without an entire certainty of success. But the force which he placed at Captain Talbot's disposal was amply sufficient, in that officer's opinion, for even a more arduous enterprise. It consisted of no fewer than twenty-seven boats; nine of which carried one

or more heavy guns ; while one was furnished with rockets, the efficiency of which among such antagonists had been proved by Keppel the year before. Their crews consisted of nearly three hundred and fifty British sailors, and above two hundred marines ; and with this force, on the 19th of August, Talbot entered the Songibasar, and, after working a few miles up its winding stream, came in front of the enemy's position. It was exactly the same in character with those which Keppel had confronted in the Sarebus and Batang Lubar. A heavy boom barred the river, and powerfully-armed forts and a floating battery commanded the boom. As he approached, the pirates opened a communication with him, inviting him to pass the boom with two boats to confer with their chief ; but he, thinking that, at the best, their object was only to gain time, replied that Seriff Osman must come to him, or he should at once begin the attack. On this the batteries opened their fire on him ; his gunboats replied, while the rest of the squadron applied themselves to destroying the boom. The rockets again produced a great effect ; but so strongly was the boom fastened with chain-cables, instead of ratans as on the Sarebus, that our boats were detained in front of it for an hour, exposed to an incessant cannonade. At last they cleared a passage ; and then the enemy, having no courage for a hand-to-hand encounter, fled in every direction, and Captain Talbot had no means of pursuing them, but was forced to content himself with burning their forts, their town, and all their vessels within his reach. Our loss had amounted to twenty-one men killed and wounded ; but our gunners' practice had been so good, that that of the enemy was far heavier : two or three of their chiefs were slain ; Osman himself was badly, it is believed mortally, wounded ; and this last blow entirely broke up the whole piratical confederacy.

Still from time to time the old spirit broke out, and

the very next year Sir Thomas learnt that the Rajahs who were most friendly to us had been murdered by order of the Sultan of Bruné. He at once returned to the island, and, leaving his large ships in the offing, and shifting his flag from the Agincourt into the Spiteful steamer, Commander W. Maitland, took the command in person of a squadron of the smaller vessels, consisting of the Hazard, Commander Egerton; the Royalist, Lieutenant Reid; the East India Company's steamer Phlegethon, and twenty boats, the seven largest of which were armed with howitzers or carronades, to act as gunboats, under the command of Captain R. Mundy of the Iris. A landing-party, composed of all the marines of the fleet, two hundred and fifty men from the Agincourt and Iris, with a few more from some of the smaller vessels, in all six hundred men, with four field-pieces and a rocket and a mortar battery, was organised and placed under the command of Captain Hope Johnstone of the flagship; and on the 7th of July, 1846, the Admiral, accompanied by Mr. Brooke as his guide, entered the river to proceed to Bruné. The Phlegethon led the way, sounding as she went, and towing the gunboats; the Spiteful followed, towing the Royalist: and last of all came the landing-party. The Hazard unfortunately grounded on a sandbank at the mouth of the river, and remained fast, in spite of every attempt that was made to extricate her. They had not gone far when, on approaching a place called Pulo Bungore, they came in sight of five batteries, one of which was admirably posted on a hill commanding the narrowest part of the channel; and the whole at once opened a spirited fire upon our squadron. Captain Mundy at once cast the gunboats off from the Phlegethon, formed them in line, and then replied to the pirates with a cannonade so much superior in rapidity and precision to their own, that after a short time the garrison fled and Captain Mundy landed at the head of a

small party of his men, stormed the batteries one after another, spiked the guns, blew up the magazines, and rejoined the Admiral, who was eager to lose no time in reaching Bruné, in the hope of capturing the Sultan himself. He was somewhat delayed in his progress by the extreme violence of the ebb-tide, against which the row-boats were unable to make head without the aid of the steamers; and it was necessary to concentrate his force, since he had intelligence that before he could reach the city he would have to encounter some batteries of unusually large guns, well-posted and strongly manned, being in fact the fortifications on which the Sultan relied for the defence of Bruné itself. Soon after midday the Admiral came in sight of the little fortress. It consisted of one battery of ten heavy guns at the water's edge, supported by two more on the hills behind; and the moment that the little squadron, the *Spiteful* now leading, came round a bend of the river and entered the reach which the works commanded, they commenced a sharp and unusually accurate cannonade, while a body of infantry, concealed in some high woods on the left bank of the river, poured a steady fire of musketry on the *Spiteful's* decks. The *Spiteful* was unable to bring her guns to bear; but the *Phlegthon*, which, in addition to her proper armament, had the field-pieces belonging to the landing-party placed in battery on her bows, and also the rocket-brigade on the bridge between her paddleboxes, at once employed them all with such effect as, after a few rounds, to drive the garrison from the works, and to leave nothing for the landing-party to do beyond taking possession of the deserted guns. The Admiral attributed the ease with which the victory had been gained mainly to Lieutenant Paynter, the gunnery-lieutenant of the *Agincourt*, under whose command the rockets and field-pieces were on this occasion placed, and who had brought the gunners of the *Agincourt* to a state of the very highest efficiency. It had cost us nine men;

but the city of Bruné was the prize, though the Sultan himself escaped. He had fled into the interior; and, in spite of all the exertions of Captain Mundy, whom the next day the Admiral sent forward with the boats to pursue him, he could never be overtaken. One of his palaces Captain Mundy reached when he had left it but a few hours. He learnt, however, that his guards were deserting him as he fled; and though, by eluding our pursuit, he escaped the punishment due to his atrocities, there was no doubt that we at last had broken his power and influence even over his own people, and that the knowledge that we were resolved to check piratical acts of every kind, and moreover that we were always at hand to do so, was gradually beginning to produce its effect on the mind of the native chiefs.

Wholly to eradicate piracy in those eastern seas is probably impossible; it is not merely a habit, but a principle among the natives that dwell around them, though all the authorities who are not in league with the pirates dread them so much that they willingly co-operate in any enterprise which has their destruction for its object. One striking example of this feeling was afforded in the autumn of 1849, when a Chinese mandarin joined our ships with a squadron of junks, placing himself to a certain extent under the orders of the British commander. The rapid extension of commerce which followed the treaty to which, as will be mentioned in a subsequent chapter, we compelled the Chinese to consent in 1842, had inevitably operated as a stimulus to piracy. Gangs of pirates, the chief of whom was a man named Shap-ng-tsai, infested the neighbourhood of the different ports, and especially of Hong Kong, not sparing even British merchantmen, many of which disappeared without its being possible to learn any tidings of their fate. And, in the spring of 1849, Shap-ng-tsai carried his audacity so far as to land at Hong Kong, and murder two British officers with such an entire

absence of provocation, that the deed seemed to be meant as a wanton defiance of our flag. He proceeded to attack Tienpach and other towns on the coast, levying heavy contributions on them, and when at last the Chinese authorities were roused by his insults into making an attempt to crush him, the result of their efforts only increased his reputation. Of the most powerful squadron which they sent against him, every vessel fell into his hands. The Imperial Government was compelled to ransom its officers at an exorbitant rate, and, in the extremity of its helplessness, at last offered him pardon for the past, and employment in the Emperor's service for the future, with the red button of the highest rank of mandarin. His old trade, however, had more attractions for him, so that he rejected the proposal; but he must have repented of his obstinacy when he found that he had to deal for the future not with timid or corrupt Chinamen, but with British sailors. Commander Lyons, whose distinguished service and honorable death in the Russian war we shall hereafter have occasion to mention, with his single sloop, the Pilot, destroyed one division of ten junks; Commander Lockyer, in the Medea steamer, captured and burnt five more; and, at the end of September, Commander J. C. D. Hay, who, during the absence of the Admiral, was the senior officer at Hong Kong, completed his destruction.

Hay had received accurate information of the pirate's principal haunts from Mr. Bonham, our Governor at Hong Kong; and with his single vessel, the Columbine, 16, he at once, on the 27th September, sailed in the direction thus pointed out to him. He first fell in with Shap-ng-tsai's lieutenant Chuiapoo, who, of the whole gang, was the most obnoxious to us, as having been the immediate agent in the murder of our officers. Chuiapoo was moving down the coast with a flotilla of fourteen junks, mounting from twelve to nineteen guns a-piece, when Hay overtook him. He fled, setting every sail and plying his sweeps, and at the same



time prepared for a vigorous resistance, tricing up his boarding nettings, and replying steadily to the Columbine's fire. The lightness of the breeze was so greatly in his favour, that he might probably have escaped, had not his flight been intercepted by the Canton, an armed steamer belonging to the Peninsular and Oriental Company, which had been sent out to search for some of our missing merchantmen, and which was now working up the coast in the opposite direction. Her Commander, Mr. Jamieson, at once opened fire upon the leading junks, and then, joining the Columbine, took her in tow, and thus enabled her to renew the action. One junk of superior size was separating herself from her consorts and making for the shore, from which circumstance Hay conjectured (with correctness, as was subsequently ascertained) that she had Chuiapoo on board, and therefore he directed all his efforts to capture her. Gaining on him in her flight, she at last reached a cove into which the Columbine could not follow her, but Hay sent in two of his boats under his first lieutenant, J. H. Bridges, who found her at anchor with a spring on her cable. A fierce action ensued, our men replying with their cannonade and muskets to the junk's guns; till, in less than half an hour, they silenced her fire, and many of the pirates were seen to jump overboard and swim ashore; unluckily some remained behind, and, as our men sprang on board, one desperate ruffian was seen to rush below with a lighted joss-stick. In vain a midshipman, C. Goddard, who had been the first to reach the junk's deck, dashed after him: the next moment the junk blew up, mortally wounding Mr. Goddard, killing a seaman and a couple of marines, and wounding several of the boat's crew. Three more junks were destroyed; but the remainder took refuge in Byas Bay, still maintaining a resolute and formidable attitude, and as the Columbine was very shorthanded, and as her ammunition was almost exhausted, Hay contented himself with taking up a position

off the entrance of the bay to prevent their escape, and sent the Canton to Hong Kong for a reinforcement.

He had not long to wait for it. By this time the Admiral on the station, Sir F. Collier, had returned to Hong Kong, and he at once sent him the *Fury*, 6, Commander Wilcox, strengthening her crew with a strong party of officers and men, and one or two boats from his own flagship. Though the *Fury* had an armament of unusual power for her size,\* she drew very little water; Hay, therefore, quitted his own sloop, and, joining Commander Wilcox, pushed into the bay in the *Fury*, with the boats belonging to both vessels and to the flagship. He found the pirates stronger than he had anticipated; for, at the head of the bay, they had a regular dockyard and station, and there they had been joined by thirteen more junks as well equipped as themselves. Again the pirates fought resolutely, but they had no means of replying to the *Fury*'s shells, which soon blew up ten of the largest vessels, and set fire to many more. Again Hay sent in his boats under Lieutenant Bridges, Lieutenant Sewcold of the *Hastings*, and Lieutenant Blackett of the *Fury*, who soon completed their destruction, and, though they failed in securing any prisoners, many of the pirates who swam to land fell into the hands of the Chinese troops who lined the shore to watch the result of the engagement.

Chuiapoo, though he had escaped, was severely wounded. But Shap-ng-tsai himself was still formidable, and when Hay returned to Hong Kong the Admiral despatched him again to make a fresh search for that chief, giving him the further reinforcement of the East India Company's armed steamer, *Phlegethon*, commanded by Mr. Neblett. He worked down the coast to the westward, till, on the 13th of October, he reached Hoihow Roads; and then Hwang, the resident mandarin, who was also the Commander-in-chief of the Chinese forces, naval as well as military, in

\* She was armed with a 68-pounder, a 10-inch gun, and four 32-pounders.

that district, not only gave him information of the pirates' position, but proposed to join the expedition with eight of his own vessels. In a warlike point of view his assistance was of no great importance, but it was very desirable to show that the Imperial Government was acting in concert with us; his offer, therefore, was cordially accepted, and he himself embarked on board the *Fury*, leaving orders for his junks to follow him. The wind was foul, and it was not till the 16th that the combined squadron reached Chookshan, where, according to Hwang's information, the pirates were lying; but they had heard of our approach, and had departed a day or two before. Their force was now ascertained to consist of above sixty large vessels, many of which carried thirty guns, while the flagjunk had not fewer than forty-two. But Shap-ng-tsai did not trust to human strength alone, he had also sought the protection of his gods, consulting a celebrated oracle at Gueichow, which had promised him three more years of prosperity, if he could avoid destruction on the ensuing 20th day of the month. And, to secure this respite, after beheading some of his followers whom he suspected of treachery and collusion with us, he retreated to Chokeum, across the Gulf of Tonquin, whither he had often boasted that no European vessels could follow him. Men less resolute might easily have found an excuse for agreeing with him; for the greater portion of the gulf is very shallow, affording only an intricate and shifting channel amidst reefs of coral and banks of mud, over which the sea breaks with a heavy swell, and numberless cross currents. But, disregarding all such obstacles, the British Commander slowly groped his way on, and on the 20th, the very morning which had been foretold to Shap-ng-tsai as the crisis of his fate, he saw thirty-seven of the pirate fleet commencing a fresh retreat. Stimulated by the sight, he redoubled his exertions, quitting the *Columbine* for the *Phlegethon*, while the *Fury* took the *Columbine* in tow, but making very slow pro-

gress, till, in the course of the afternoon, a native pilot escaped from the shore and guided the squadron in. From that moment the pirates' hope was over. Hay quickly came up with them, opening his fire directly that he got within range; in less than half an hour the flag-junk blew up (Shap-ng-tsai himself having previously deserted her); in less than an hour the whole flotilla had ceased to resist; before night-fall our boats had burnt twenty-seven of the largest vessels, and Hay anchored the squadron across the mouth of the river, or creek, in which the rest had taken shelter. The next morning the Phlegethon stood in with the boats, and discovered and destroyed twenty-six more, though two of the largest stood gallantly at bay, and made a stout, though fruitless, resistance. The attack of them fell to Lieutenant Hancock, of the Fury, in one of her paddle-box boats, and their crews were so numerous and so desperate, that he did not venture to close with them till, by the superior steadiness and precision of his fire, he had driven the pirates from their guns, when he boarded the junks and burnt them, with seven more which their men deserted on seeing the fate of their leaders. Four of their crews ran on shore, where the mandarins set fire to them, making prisoners of the greater part of their men; and by the evening of the 22nd, Hay had destroyed the whole flotilla, except six of the smallest vessels with which Shap-ng-tsai had escaped. These, and about two hundred men, were all that now remained to him out of sixty-four junks, and 3,150 men which were under his orders for any act of atrocity only three days before. And his power was thus effectually broken for ever. The merchants at Hong Kong gave the three commanders a splendid present of plate, and Commanders Hay and Wilcox, and Lieutenant Hancock, were rewarded with their promotion.

But stern as the lesson thus given had been, it was soon forgotten. At the end of five years the pirates were as numerous and fearless as ever. And in November, 1854,

Sir James Stirling, at that time Commander-in-chief on the China station, found it necessary to send Captain O'Callaghan of the *Encounter* in pursuit of a gang which had been committing great depredations about Hong Kong, and among the creeks of the Macao River. The moment that Captain O'Callaghan's errand was known, he received offers of aid from all quarters. Not only did the Portuguese authorities at Macao and the American captains in the river place boats and portions of their crews at the Admiral's disposal, but the native merchants at Canton subscribed three thousand dollars as their contribution to any expenses that might be incurred; and a single member of their body chartered two steam-vessels belonging to our Peninsular and Oriental Company, to accompany the *Encounter* in her expedition. Thus supported, Captain O'Callaghan swept the suspected channels with great success. At the same time Lieutenant Charles Fellowes of the *Winchester*, with his own boats and those of the *Spartan*, was sent in another direction up some creeks which the larger vessels could not enter; and in the course of the next week the two officers destroyed nearly seventy large pirate-junks almost without resistance, the crews, when brought to close quarters, usually running their boats ashore and escaping.

The next year we dealt them some heavier blows. In May a namesake of the Lieutenant of the *Winchester*, Commander W. A. Fellowes of the *Rattler*, heard that an English merchantman with a very valuable cargo had been attacked and plundered; and, after cruising up and down the coast for some time, and capturing two or three pirate-vessels, but not the gang of which he was in search, who were lying near Tylu in water so shallow that he could not follow them, he returned to Hong Kong, where an American officer, Captain M'Cluney of the United States steam-frigate *Powhattan*, lent him his two paddle-box boats, a cutter, and sixty-four men, under the command of

his lieutenant, Mr. Pegram, who joyfully volunteered for the service. Each of the boats was armed with a 12-pound howitzer. And Captain Fellowes, at the same time, procured a small steamer called the *Eaglet*, which drew scarcely more water than the boats. Thus reinforced he returned down the coast; and at Kulan, in some shallow creeks, found a squadron of thirty-four junks, all well manned and armed. He at once attacked them; but so confident were the pirates in their strength that, though at first thrown into great disorder by the *Rattler's* rockets, the moment that they perceived our boats advancing to close with them, they made a stand, forming in line-of-battle with their broadsides towards their assailants, and opened upon them a rapid and well-aimed fire. The boats, however, returned it with shell and grape, and, still pushing on, forced their way alongside the junks, when the crews of the greater part sprang overboard and swam to shore, leaving their vessels in our possession. Eighteen junks, nine of which had been recently taken by the pirates, fell into our hands; and Captain Fellowes was surprised at his own success, when he saw how powerfully they had been armed. One of them had twenty-one guns, and several of her consorts were but little inferior in size, while the guns themselves were of a very large calibre; one being a 68-pounder, and 32-pounders and 24-pounders being common. He bestowed the highest praise, not only on his own crew, but on his American allies; one of whom, Lieutenant Rolando, saved his life by warding off a blow which in the height of the conflict, a pirate was aiming at him from behind. Lieutenant Pegram too was among the foremost in the fight; and it was by his aid that Mr. James, the boatswain of the *Rattler*, with a crew of five men in the *Rattler's* gig, captured and secured one of the junks with which he had fought a severe action. The victory was not obtained without considerable loss: thirteen of the American crew were killed or wounded by the blowing up of a junk

that had just been captured; we lost eleven. But the killed and wounded among the pirates Captain Fellowes estimated at five hundred men.

Further to the north Commander E. Vansittart of the *Bittern* had a still more brilliant triumph. He too was aided by a strong party of Americans, whom the Captain of the *Macedonia* frigate lent to man the *Confucius* steamer, and by another steam-vessel, the *Paoushan*, which the Chinese merchants hired and placed under his orders. And he had especial need of assistance, for he was aware not only that the piratical fleet which he was seeking was very numerous, but that among its crews were several English sailors, from whose despair the most stubborn resistance must be expected. After a protracted search, on the 18th of August, when off the mouth of the river which leads to the city of Fuchan, he discovered a flotilla of nearly forty junks, which, far from fleeing, according to the usual tactics of pirates, formed in two divisions, and bore down to court a battle. He retreated a little, in the hope of drawing them so far from the shore that he might be able to cut them off; but they were too wary to allow such a manœuvre to succeed. The moment that they had got within range they had commenced a steady fire on the *Bittern*, but they would not follow her beyond the shoal water, where they had also the protection of a reef; and behind that they kept in such a position that the sloop was forced continually to yaw up to bring her guns to bear, and was therefore at every fire increasing the distance between herself and her antagonists. Vansittart's well-directed broadsides, however, sank or disabled eight, though he was unable to take possession of them. The rest escaped him for a time, but their flight enabled him to set free the merchant-vessels up the different rivers in the neighbourhood, which, for fear of them, had not ventured to put to sea. From them he learnt that the pirates had demanded a large sum, twelve hundred dollars, for the ransom

of each vessel ; and that, having been disappointed in obtaining all the booty on which they had reckoned, they had seized a Chinese, killed and quartered him, and had sent his remains on shore to the city of New Chang, with the threat that, if a hundred thousand dollars were not paid to them, they would serve the Mandarins in the same way. The next day he resumed his pursuit of the pirates who had escaped. The wind was favourable, and he came up with them again ; on this occasion capturing twelve, averaging about a hundred and fifty tons, and ten guns each, with crews of at least fifty men : though he made but few prisoners, the crews in general abandoning their vessels and swimming to land.

He had achieved this success with a loss of only one man ; and, thus encouraged to proceed, in the middle of September he reached the Yang-tse-kiang, where he learnt that a strong squadron of pirates had lately blockaded the island of Potoo, where there was a party of English ladies ; and had also captured an English boat. On hearing of his approach they had retired ; but he, towed by the Paoushan, pursued them to Sheepoo, one of their most favorite haunts, and he had hardly entered the harbour when he discovered the whole squadron moored in a defensive position close to the town, and evidently ready for battle with their guns pointed to the entrance of the channel. The junks were twenty-two in number, lashed together head and stern : those at the further end of their line bending round, so as to rake the Bittern with a cross fire. In this position they maintained a vigorous cannonade above an hour ; but during the whole of that time, the sloop's broadsides were equally active and more effective than theirs ; and at last the entire flotilla was captured, the terrible precision of the Bittern's fire being sufficiently proved by the circumstance that, of the whole number, one junk only was found sufficiently sound to be brought off. Again but few prisoners were made by us ; but many of



the pirates, as they escaped to land, were seized and put to death by the people of the district. Vansittart did, indeed, endeavour to capture some of the men the next day, sending in his second-lieutenant, Mr. Brooker, with a party to seize them. They were aware of his approach, and a large body of them took up a strong position on an adjacent gorge, from which they opened a heavy fire on our men as they advanced. Lieutenant Brooker, however, turned their flank, and captured many of them, but was unable to identify them as having belonged to the flotilla which had been destroyed on the previous day; and Vansittart was forced to content himself with carrying off all the guns and ammunition he could find, so as to disable the gang for some time.

During Sir Michael Seymour's campaigns, the pirates, thinking that both we and the Chinese were fully occupied with one another, grew more daring than ever; and on one occasion they even ventured to attack a British gunboat without provocation, an act of boldness, which, though her commander was little more than eighteen years old, cost them dear. Lieutenant L. Wildman, in the gunboat *Staunch*, had, in August, 1858, been sent down from Shanghai to Hong Kong, and, as it was the season of the typhoon, the little vessel had been directed to leave her long guns behind, and had no other armament than her two 24-pound howitzers. In this weak condition she had reached the island of Taon Pung, when the Lieutenant heard that a small flotilla was ravaging the neighbourhood. He cleared for action and stood on, hoping to catch them; and presently, on coming round a headland, met four junks bearing down to encounter him. They at once opened fire upon him, which did great damage to his rigging, and he replied with his howitzers; while, to save his boats, (as he was certain that his fire could never suffice to disable the pirates), he lowered them down, and towed them astern. He then steamed on at full speed to grapple

the largest junk, and carry her by boarding; but the moment he got alongside her, she showered upon him a mass of combustibles, which raised so great a smoke, that no one in the Staunch could see: and the only man who succeeded in boarding the pirate, an able seamen named Edward George, was cut to pieces while striving to lash the two vessels together. That junk escaped; but without delay Wildman ran aboard another, and carried her: then leaving her in charge of a small prize-crew, he chased a second in his gig: overtook, boarded, and captured her; and presently took a third vessel, which, however, he found to be a prize which the pirates themselves had only just captured. Each of the junks had carried a long 24-pounder, and six smaller broadside-guns, with many gingalls, and upwards of fifty men; of whom a great part, if the Lieutenant's conjecture, founded on the number of European rifles and revolvers on board his prizes, was correct, must have been Europeans. Lieutenant Wildman was deservedly promoted, as was his second-master, Mr. Morrice, who, while in command of the prize-crew in the junk first taken, was attacked by a number of boats who tried to recapture her. Their crews succeeded in boarding her, and even in loading her long gun; but, after a fierce hand to hand conflict, were at last driven back with great loss, by the desperate valour of Mr. Morrice and his handful of British seamen.

But when the Admiral had brought the hostilities against the Chinese to a triumphant conclusion by the victory on the Peiho, he had leisure to turn his attention to the suppression of the pirates, in which task the Chinese themselves still, whenever it was in their power, willingly co-operated with him. He sent Commander Cresswell, who has been already mentioned as lieutenant of the Investigator in the Arctic Seas, with the Surprise, in one direction, and Captain N. Vansittart, with a squadron, in another; and, in a very few weeks, these two officers com-

mitted such havoc among the gangs which infested the coast on both sides of the Chukiang, that they were permanently weakened, and the trade of the adjacent district was established in a degree of safety to which it had long been a stranger. On the 22nd of August, 1858, Cresswell, having been despatched by the Admiral to the island of Singting in search of a large flotilla of twenty-six vessels, fought with them one of the severest actions of the kind that our annals record. He found the main body strongly posted in a small bay on the north-western side of the island; and they, the moment the *Surprise* came within range of their guns, all opened upon her with a steady fire, to which she made no reply till she was within half a mile of them. Then she began to pour in shot and shell upon them with deadly effect; and at the same time, as she had with her the launch and barge of the *Cambrian*, she sent them forward in shore, under the command of Lieutenant Webb, to take the pirates in flank. They, perceiving his design, began to direct a heavy fire on the boats also: their fire being unusually true, but happily, though continually hulling the ships and hitting the boats, never injuring any of the men. The action was continued on both sides with unabated vigour for above half an hour, when two of the pirates' larger vessels blew up; and their destruction seemed to paralyse the whole gang, who at once ceased firing, and began to take refuge on the island. In a quarter of an hour more the whole were in our possession, and the Commander having landed, and ascended a hill at the back of the bay, found the rest of the squadron preparing for battle in a small creek on the other side. They tried their gingalls upon him; but the rifles of his marines soon drove the crews from their vessels: and Cresswell, returning to the *Surprise*, steamed round in front of them, and completed the victory with a few shells. The greater part of the junks were too much injured to remove; but he brought off seven as prizes: one

of which carried twenty-eight guns, another twenty-four, while the others on an average had mounted twelve guns apiece. The entire armament of the flotilla had amounted to three hundred and twenty-seven guns. Of the crews it was impossible to form any estimate.

Captain N. Vansittart's expedition was on a larger scale. Besides his own vessel, the *Magicienne*, he had under his command the *Inflexible*, Commander Brooker; with two gunboats, the *Plover*, Lieutenant Wynniett, and the *Algerine*, Lieutenant Arthur. With these he bore round to the westward, and from the very beginning of his cruise to the end, (it only lasted a week), he met with uninterrupted success. It was at daybreak on the 26th of August that he quitted Hong Kong: and, dividing his squadron as he passed among the islands off the mouth of the river, so as to examine them on both sides at once, he not only captured one or two large junks, of above twenty guns each, the same morning, but had also the satisfaction of finding in one of them an Englishman, whom the pirates had made their prisoner a short time before. Some of the islands were little more than barren rocks, full of gorges and caverns, and among them he found, after one or two endeavours, that it was useless to pursue the pirates who had escaped; but, when he succeeded in driving them on to the mainland, it usually happened that the people of the district caught them on the shore, and slaughtered them with even less mercy than he himself would have shown to them. As he proceeded, he was met by continual reports of the atrocities which they had been recently committing; and those who complained gladly brought him the most accurate intelligence of the lurking-places of the objects of their terror. With this guidance he picked up squadron after squadron, without having to fire a single gun: the pirates deserting their vessels at the mere sight of the *Magicienne* or of her boats; and in one instance they ever abandoned a position where, had they known his weakness,

they had him at their mercy. Late in the evening of the 27th, he was burning a number of junks which he had just captured in Coulan Bay, (the third squadron which he had destroyed in two days), when he was surprised by the fire of some heavy guns from the land, at a distance, according to his calculation, of about a mile from the shore. He had with him only two gigs; but he at once landed with the greater part of the crews, Commander Broker, Lieutenant Wynniatt, his own first-lieutenant, Mr. Soady, and ten men; and, guided by the fire of the battery (for it was too dark to see anything), he pushed on towards it. The pirates continued firing, not apparently having any idea that any of their enemies were on shore; but believing that they had to deal only with those who were burning their junks. And Vansittart, not wishing to give them too early a notice of his presence, reserved his own fire till he was within pistolshot: then he and his men all fired together. The pirates, surprised and panic-stricken, fled without another effort; and as soon as he had clambered over a well-staked stockade, which was admirably posted so as to sweep every approach in front of it, he found that he had captured a battery of fourteen heavy guns, which must have contained a garrison sufficient easily to overpower his party, had they only possessed courage equal to that which animated him and his followers. Each succeeding day he found and took gang after gang. Sometimes they consisted of large sailing junks, armed with many guns; sometimes of fast row-boats, with thirty or forty oars, and one gun; but in every instance the pirates fled at his approach, and left him little to do but to burn their boats and carry off their guns. One gang of six large junks did venture to exchange shots for a short time with the Plover and Algerine, which he had sent under Lieutenant Wynniatt's command round a headland. The pirates were above two hundred in number, and had eighty guns; but they were only brave while we were at a distance.

As Lieutenant Wynniatt closed with them their hearts failed them: he captured the whole of their vessels; killed or made prisoners of every one of the crews; and had the further satisfaction of releasing upwards of twenty prisoners whom they had in their hands.

The crowning achievement of his cruise Vansittart had the satisfaction of executing in person. As he was coasting along he came to a creek leading to a fort called Tywooshan, which he had reason to believe to be a favorite haunt of the pirates; but which was too shallow to admit either of his larger vessels. He therefore sent in the Plover and Algerine, accompanying them himself with the boats of the *Magicienne* and *Inflexible*; and presently discovered two large junks. One gladly brought to, and proved to be a prize which the other had just taken; but her captor fled with all speed, having both sweeps and sails, and being aided by a fair wind. As Vansittart and his followers chased, she opened a heavy fire on him, which was well returned by the gunboats as long as they could keep within range of her; but at last she got too far up the creek for them, and the chase was left to the rowboats. Captain Vansittart's gig, being the lightest, was the first to come up with her. He had with him only Mr. Brabazon, mate, Mr. Anstruther, midshipman, two marines and six men. Yet with these he at once grappled with his prey, and, while Mr. Brabazon and the two marines covered them with a rapid rifle-fire, the others engaged in a hand-to-hand struggle with the pirates; who not content with the ordinary weapons of European warfare, hurled combustibles of all kinds into the British boats. The contest that ensued gave the young midshipman, Mr. Anstruther, an opportunity of saving the life of one of the men, a feat which his Captain recorded with deserved panegyric. The man's clothes having been set on fire, he sprang overboard to extinguish the flames, forgetting that he was unable to swim; and he was fast sinking when Mr.

Anstruther leapt after him, seized him, and, though at last greatly exhausted himself, kept him afloat till his comrades drew them both into the boat. Soon the rest of the boats arrived, and the pirate, almost in a sinking state, surrendered. Those of her crew who escaped our men were cut to pieces by the people on the shore; and among those who were slain on board was found Cheppoo, whose name, as the chief of the whole gang, had long been the terror of the district. She had carried nine guns, and sixty-five men, of whom not one escaped; and when, a couple of days afterwards, Vansittart returned to Coulan Bay, and destroyed the magazines of powder and ammunition which were stored around the head of the creek, it was felt that he had extinguished the whole system of piracy in these waters for some time. In summing up the results of his week's cruise, he was able to report to the Admiral that he had destroyed a 14-gun battery; a hundred piratical junks and boats; between two and three hundred guns; that he had taken thirty-six pirates alive, whom he had handed over to the Chinese authorities; and that he had killed nearly four hundred more. Nor to a British heart was it less satisfactory to be able to add that he had retaken six vessels, and restored to freedom sixty prisoners who had lately fallen into the pirates' hands; while he had to lament the loss of only forty-four men wounded, and of not one killed.

## CHAPTER XL.

1817—1840.

Our wars with barbarous nations — With Mocha—Captain Lumley in the Topaz—War with Burmah—Captain Marryatt commands the squadron—Aids in the capture of Rangoon—Captain Chads succeeds Captain Marryatt—Repeated defeats of the Burmese—Captain Alexander succeeds Captain Chads—The squadron ascends the Irrawaddy—Reaches Melloone—Peace—Second Burmese War—Admiral Austin takes Martaban—Capture of Rangoon—Commodore Lambert takes Bassein—Captain Loch at Prome—Capture of Pegu—Action at Donabew—Death of Captain Loch—Peace—Cause of war in South America—Expedition up the Uruguay—Up the Parana—Battle of Obligado—Action at San Lorenzo.

UNCONNECTED with our hostilities against the pirates, but in many of their features strongly resembling those enterprises, was a series of detached petty wars in which we were involved in the different quarters of the globe, partly by our widely-spread commerce, and partly by our still more honourable character as the champions of humanity in every clime. It is a gratifying proof of our moderation that in no instance did we put forth our might against those so much weaker than ourselves, till we had submitted to wanton and repeated provocation; and had tried every kind of remonstrance in vain, with a patience that misled the half-civilized rulers to whom they were addressed, into undervaluing our power, since it seemed to them incomprehensible that such long continued endurance of injury could proceed from any other source than a consciousness of inability to compel redress. It must have been some such feeling that induced the Arabs, warlike by nature and habit as they are, to venture on insulting our flag, and on resisting the force which we at last sent to vindicate our



honour. We had long had a commercial intercourse with Mocha ; but in the year 1817 the Dola, as the chief of that town was called, in the wantonness of barbarian caprice, (for he did not even allege any ground of complaint against either our nation or our officer, nor were there any treasures in the building of sufficient value to tempt his cupidity), sent a body of troops to pillage and burn our factory ; and the soldiers likewise seized the Resident, and treated him with every kind of indignity. We of course demanded redress ; though we suffered ourselves at the same time to be amused for such a length of time with Oriental subterfuges and evasions, that nearly three years elapsed before we ascertained that the offenders had no intention to afford it, and that we must extort it by force. When, however, this conviction at last forced itself upon us, we took vigorous measures. Captain Loch was sent from Bengal in the *Eden* frigate, with some smaller vessels and gunboats belonging to the East India Company, to repeat our demands and to enforce them, if need should arise, with his cannon ; and when the Dola rejected our proposals and fired on our ships, he bombarded the town ; then landed a body of seamen who stormed and destroyed the forts, which were its principal defence ; and so alarmed the Imaun of Senna, the chief ruler of the district, that he sent the Dola on board the *Eden* as a prisoner, and submitted to all the conditions which we thought fit to impose, among which was the future maintenance of a military guard for the Resident's protection.

But the impression made by this chastisement on the fickle minds of the Arabs was neither deep nor lasting. By the end of the same year, 1820, they had re-established their forts in greater strength than before, and, irritated at the presence of our soldiers on their territory, again began to insult our traders and the Resident. Tidings of the renewal of their outrages speedily reached India, and Sir Graham Moore, the Admiral commanding on that station

at the time, convinced by former transactions of the inutility of wasting time in diplomacy, at once despatched Captain Lumley in the *Topaze*, 28, with a force resembling that which had been successful before, to bring the Arabs to reason. Captain Lumley lost no time in carrying out his instructions. He learnt from the Resident, Mr. Bruce, that no language but that of the ships' guns could be expected to produce the slightest effect; and, on the 4th of December, the very day after his arrival, he carried the *Topaze* in as near to the shore as he could venture, and, aided by the gunboats, opened his fire upon both town and forts. It was vigorously replied to, for the forts were both larger and stronger than those which Captain Loch had destroyed, now mounting above eighty heavy guns, and being manned with at least a thousand men. So resolute was the garrison that they endured an uninterrupted cannonade for nearly five hours before they showed the least sign of submission: at the end of that time, shortly after midday, they sent off a flag of truce, and proposed to treat; but when, in consequence, our vessels desisted from firing, they recovered their courage, rejected our demands, and, re-occupying the northern fort, which, as being most exposed to our guns, they had abandoned in the morning, they attacked with great vigour, and succeeded in repelling a body of sailors whom Captain Lumley had sent ashore to spike the guns and destroy it. So well sustained, indeed, on this occasion was their fire, that every one of our officers who had landed was either killed or wounded; and, before the party could regain the ships, they had to lament the loss of nearly thirty men. The moment however that they were re-embarked, Lumley sent in a bombvessel, which, under the direction of Lieutenant Jacob, shelled the town with such precision as to burn nearly the whole of it, and at daybreak the next morning the *Dola* again hoisted a flag of truce, and obtained an armistice of fourteen days to allow him time to communicate with his master the Imaun,

giving hostages for his own peaceful behaviour during that interval.

He employed it, however, in adding to the strength of his fortifications and augmenting his garrison ; and Captain Lumley, though sanguine that there would be no occasion for such precautions, was not more idle than he, but, by a careful examination of the bay, ascertained the channels by which the nearest approaches to the forts could be made, and the most suitable position for each kind of vessel under his command. The enemy, always seeking for delays, prevailed upon him to prolong the armistice for four days, and endeavoured to procure a still longer respite. But, as by the expiration of that period he perceived that he was being mocked by false pretences, he hauled down the flag of truce, and on the 25th availed himself of the local knowledge which he had so diligently acquired, placing some of his smaller vessels within four hundred yards of the inferior fortifications, and warping the frigate herself within seven hundred yards of the principal battery on the north, a formidable work mounting sixteen long 18-pounders, and eight 32-pound carronades, a force nearly doubling that of the *Topaze's* broadside. The next morning at daybreak he opened fire from the whole squadron. As on the former occasion it was vigorously returned for a time, but the resistance could not be maintained so long as before, for, by working round a narrow spit of land projecting from the north fort, Captain Lumley had placed that work between two fires, which silenced it in little more than ten minutes, though nearly four hours elapsed before any part of the resolute garrison could be driven to abandon it. At that time, about ten o'clock, a large body of at least a hundred and fifty men was seen in full retreat from it ; and Captain Lumley, while the ships within reach of their line of march poured a heavy fire of grape and canister on their ranks, sent in the boats to storm the fort itself. Seeing their object, the garrisons of the other batteries now directed all

their fire on the party which landed ; but the resolution of our men overcame every obstacle : they found their way in, spiked the guns, and blew up the walls ; and Captain Lumley would probably have completed the destruction of the other batteries the same evening had not the wind freshened to such a degree as to compel him to draw off and wait for its abating to finish his work. On the 30th a return of calm weather enabled the ships again to stand in, and, though the enemy gallantly withstood our fire, and returned it from four well-equipped batteries, which remained uninjured by the former attack, as well as from a range of guns with which the town ramparts were mounted, they were gradually overpowered by the superior skill and accuracy of aim of our men, and when the fire with which they replied to ours had become faint, Lumley again sent in his men in their boats, who completed the conquest. The attack on the second day cost us only eleven men, of whom but one was killed : that of the Arabs was never ascertained, but was known to have been very severe ; the Imaun, now thoroughly humbled, sent an envoy to announce his submission to all our demands : and, having made his peace, took care not to provoke a third demonstration of our power.

Further to the eastward, we were, a year or two afterwards, engaged in a more serious war, in which, though the principal part of the fighting fell to the army, the navy bore an almost equal share in the preliminary movements. And the exertions of the fleet are especially remarkable, because they present the first instance of our vessels penetrating up the rivers far into the interior of a country, thus setting an example which was subsequently followed on a greater scale in China and in South America. The assistance which Wellington's Peninsular army derived from our boats on the Tagus, and the brilliant expedition of the Seahorse and Thames up the Potomac have already been recorded ; but fifty or sixty miles formed the extreme limit

of the seamen's advance in either of those instances, while on this occasion our cruisers' gunboats and other vessels penetrated nearly ten times that distance. Another circumstance, which still more strongly marks this war as the beginning of a new era, is that in it steam was for the first time brought into play as an agent in war. The merit of its introduction belongs to Commander Marryatt,\* who, seeing the *Diana* steam-vessel at Calcutta, when the expedition was being equipped, urged her employment on Commodore Grant with successful earnestness. Her own armament was indeed limited to a couple of carronades, and even those were not furnished to her at first; but, by towing those vessels which were armed with long guns into their appointed places, she was as truly effective as if she had been so equipped herself; and her efficiency for this and other services was greatly increased by the want on the part of the Burmese of any experience of vessels of the kind, so that they were wholly unable to calculate on her speed, and were thus more than once brought within the grasp of our men in positions from which they were unable to escape.

The King of Burmah had long viewed the increase of our power in India with uneasiness, and had made repeated inroads upon our eastern frontier, which for a time we were too much occupied to chastise; but, towards the end of 1823, the vigorous government of Lord Hastings had established peace throughout the rest of our Eastern dominions, and he had consequently leisure to direct his attention towards this new enemy. At first our efforts were mainly directed against Chittagong and Aracan, the districts of the Burman Empire which lie nearest to our own territory; but it was soon seen that those were not the provinces where a blow would most sensibly be felt, but that the great river Irrawaddy which connected Rangoon, the greatest commercial city of the empire, with Ava its capital, afforded the proper line for our operations.

\* The celebrated naval novelist.

Accordingly it was resolved to concentrate our efforts in that direction ; and in the spring of 1824 a small but well-appointed army was drawn from the establishments of Calcutta and Madras ; was united, under the command of Sir Archibald Campbell, at Port Cornwallis in the Andaman Islands ; and, under the protection of a small squadron, consisting of a single frigate, the *Liffey*, 50, Commodore Grant, two or three sloops of the Royal Navy, an equal number of cruisers belonging to the East India Company, and about twenty gunboats, set sail from that rendezvous on the 5th of May. In five days more it entered that channel of the Irrawaddy which is known as the Rangoon River, and, without losing time, advanced as far as that city, which lies about fifty miles from the sea. It was well that the commanders were so prompt, for on the first rumour of our approach the Governor of the city had thrown all the English residents into prison, and had announced to them his intention of putting them to death ; but the rapidity of our advance forced him first to turn all his attention to the means of checking it ; and his strongest batteries proved so unequal a match for the broadsides of the *Liffey*, and the 20-gun sloop *Larne*, Commander Marryatt, that in less than an hour Rangoon surrendered, without costing us a single man ; nor, as far as came to our knowledge, did the loss of the enemy exceed ten men killed.

Some time elapsed before the General was able to follow up this success by any further advance, since he deemed it necessary first to clear the ground around him from enemies ; a task which the nature of the country, full of jungles and ravines, and also of almost countless streams which, though narrow, were deep, made one of great difficulty. By the beginning of July, however, he had secured his base of operations on the main river below Rangoon, when he learnt that a large army was on its way to attack him. They came down the right bank of the river, and, having

been repulsed with great slaughter in their first attack, changed their tactics to a more defensive system; and, erecting stockades of great strength, relied on them to bar our progress, and on the aid of a numerous flotilla of war-vessels of the largest size to transport and retransport their men from one side of the river to the other at pleasure. Commodore Grant had returned to Bengal, leaving Marryatt in command; and with that officer the General concerted a combined attack, the success of which was almost wholly owing to the skill with which the squadron was handled. The stockades on the left bank, on which Rangoon itself stood, were very strong, being armed with nearly forty heavy guns, besides many swivels, and manned with a numerous and well-equipped garrison: they were most skillfully placed with a view to affording one another mutual support, and their front was covered with swamps which it was hardly possible for the soldiers to cross till their fire was subdued. Sir Archibald tried shells, but the mortars could not be brought near enough to produce any effect; and the army was entirely baffled, till Captain Marryatt sent up his first-lieutenant, Mr. Frazer, with the smaller vessels of his squadron, the *Satellite*, 10, two cruisers belonging to the East India Company, the *Teignmouth*, Captain Hardy, the *Thetis*, Lieutenant Green, and a few gunboats; and their fire soon silenced that of the stockades, and made a breach in the principal one, which the troops had then little difficulty in carrying by storm. The capture of the first led to that of the rest: in a few hours the whole line of defences was in our possession, and the General, while praising the dashing courage of his own troops who stormed them one after another, candidly acknowledged that the foundation of the success gained was the cannonade of Lieutenant Frazer's squadron. The next month the co-operation of the fleet was equally effective. A little below Rangoon the Syriam or Pegu River falls into the Irrawaddy; and on that too the enemy had

assembled in force by the beginning of August ; had put an old Portuguese fort into thorough repair ; and, having destroyed the bridge leading to it, took up a position around it which they looked upon as impregnable ; but the water here was deep enough for the Larne herself to act ; and with her and one or two other vessels Marryatt opened a fire, under cover of which a body of seamen quickly reconstructed the bridge, and then landed a brigade of troops who speedily routed the enemy and took the fort.

Returning to Rangoon, Marryatt now began to clear the right bank of the river ; a task of no small labour, since numbers of little streams fell into it, every one of which afforded a lurking-place for war-boats, and often for fire-rafts ; but he took some, destroyed the rest, and by the beginning of September the whole country below and around Rangoon was cleared of enemies. The General now prepared to advance along the banks of the river, supported by the squadron, when, on the 6th of September, the Burmese made a simultaneous attack upon both the army and the fleet, assaulting our camp on shore with a large force, and sending down at the same time a flotilla of their largest war-boats, each pulling seventy or eighty oars, and some most formidable fire-rafts densely packed with brimstone, tar, petroleum, and gunpowder. The troops on land were soon routed ; but the warriors in the boats fought with more resolution than they had before displayed, attempting even to board some of our vessels, and charging with desperate valour up to the boarding nettings, through which they thrust and pushed their long spears with furious and accurate aim. Those, however, who thus came to close quarters were all overpowered, but we were able to overtake very few of those who kept more aloof ; their great speed and superior knowledge of the stream so baffling our pursuit, that of the whole number only five boats, which could not keep up with the main body, fell into our hands.



But the *Larne*, however superior to the Burmese, found an enemy she could not combat in the scurvy. Two days after this last victory her crew was reported to be in such a state of general disease that her withdrawal was indispensable; and fortunately, the evil effects which it might otherwise have produced were prevented by the arrival of a vessel of almost similar force, the *Arachne*, 18, Commander Chads, the same officer who, as lieutenant of the *Iphigenia* at the Mauritius, and afterwards of the *Java*, had won such high distinction in the wars with France and America. He at once took Marryatt's place as commander of the squadron, and, as all obstacles to our advance had been removed by his predecessor, the combined force prepared to ascend the river. The *Arachne* herself drew too much water, but Chads selected from her crew a body of fifteen picked men to strengthen the *Satellite*, and in that vessel at the beginning of October led the squadron which consisted of herself, the *Robert Spankie*, a cruiser belonging to the East India Company, the *Diana* steamer, and twenty-five gunboats; a force apparently sufficient to cope with any enemy whom he might have to encounter, but in reality far weaker than it seemed, since the gunboats were wholly manned with *Lascars*, the most indolent and cowardly of all the Eastern tribes. With them, however, such as they were, he worked up the river; very slowly, since the ebb-tide was far stronger than the flood, but steadily: the Burmese war-boats vigilantly attending on his course, keeping just so far ahead as to baffle any attempt to bring them to action, and, as they passed, clearing all the villages of their population. The difficulties of the navigation were extreme; often shoals blocked the whole channel but one narrow passage; in many places the river was carefully and strongly staked; more than once the *Satellite* grounded. The whole stream on both sides was fringed with stockades; a strong flotilla of thirty war-boats occupied the middle channel, and often at night fire-rafts

tried to drop down on the squadron under cover of the darkness. But the energy of Chads and his men surmounted all obstacles : the *Diana* got the *Satellite* off the shoals and towed her abreast of the stockades, which she battered to pieces with her broadsides ; the gunboats, under Lieutenant Keele of the *Arachne*, captured the war-boats and sunk the fire-rafts : and thus, after six days of incessant labour, the squadron reached Martaban, a village fifty miles above Rangoon, and fortified more strongly than any place which our men had yet seen. The boats, however, landed a brigade of troops on one side, the *Satellite* commanded it on the other ; and the whole place was reduced in a few hours.

Lieutenant Keele deservedly received the highest praise from his Captain for his share in the exploit ; and a few days afterwards another lieutenant, Mr. Ellis, who, though in the service of the East India Company, was in this expedition under the command of Captain Chads, performed a deed of still more brilliant gallantry. He was proceeding up the river in a small gunboat, with half-a-dozen Sepoys besides the rowers, when he found himself chased by fourteen war-boats, each manned by from thirty to forty men. They were so much swifter than his vessel that escape was impossible ; he therefore halted his boat to receive their attack, bringing her head round so that the single carronade which she had in her bows might bear upon them as they advanced. He could see that it did considerable execution, nevertheless they pressed forward ; and when they came within a few yards of him, twelve of their boats stopped and assailed him with musketry and spears which they hurled with great dexterity, and two of the largest ran alongside the British vessel, and grappled her with the intention of carrying her by boarding. The Lieutenant, seeing their design, resolved to anticipate them ; the fire of the carronade and the musketry of his six Sepoys had considerably reduced the number of his assailants before

they came alongside ; and while the crew of the first boat were busy fastening her to his own, he sprang on board her at the head of his Sepoys, charged the Burmese with the bayonet, and killed or wounded every man : then, turning his attack on her consort, he carried her in a similar manner ; and the others, on seeing the fate of their consorts, fled. As long as they remained within range of his guns he harassed them in their retreat ; and on mustering his own men after this splendid achievement he had the satisfaction of finding that none were killed, and only two were wounded.

These defeats, however, stimulated rather than discouraged the enemy : a large army was equipped to avenge them ; and its approach was heralded by the descent of a more formidable flotilla of war-boats than we had as yet seen. The object of the Burmese was to recover Kemmerdine, a strongly fortified village on the river, just above Rangoon, as a necessary preliminary to the expulsion of our force from that city. And, while their army advanced towards it on the land side, the boats, in numbers so great that our seamen were unable to count them, attacked our squadron. When they first came in sight Captain Chads was absent, having gone up the Pegu River to reconnoitre that town, which he found entirely defenceless : and the task of repulsing them devolved on Commander Ryves of the *Sophie*, 18, who began the contest at a great disadvantage, as the sloop's guns and those of some of the Company's cruisers which he had with him, were all carronades, while the Burmese boats were armed with many long 9-pounders, which enabled them to batter the *Sophie* while keeping out of range of her shot. Even when, on the return of the *Arachne*, Ryves procured the aid of some of her guns, the enemy continued their cannonade with such unabated vigour that Captain Chads decided on bringing them to close quarters by a boat attack. Nine boats with seventy men, a force which included nearly

every Englishman in the squadron, were placed under the command of Lieutenant Kellett, who quitting the *Arachne* soon after midnight, surprised the Burmese at daybreak, and the unexpectedness of his attack spread such dismay among the barbarians, that they at once fled, firing, however, steadily on our men in their retreat. The main body escaped, but the Lieutenant captured seven boats, four of which carried a long 9-pounder a-piece, and the largest of which, evidently, from the flag, belonging to a chief of some consideration, was ninety-six feet long, and had a crew of seventy-six oarsmen besides warriors.

Even this blow did not break the courage of the enemy. On the contrary, they showed more resolution than ever, filling the stream with enormous fire-rafts above 100 feet square, with some of which they succeeded in burning a portion of the river-face of Rangoon itself; and, when they had thus cleared the river for some distance down, descending with nearly 200 war-boats to renew the attack on the squadron. On this occasion the *Diana* proved eminently serviceable. Mr. Kellett was placed in command of her, and by skilfully decreasing and increasing her steam, he wholly baffled the barbarians' calculations of her speed, till he got them within reach of her carronades and musketry; which he then poured into them with such effect that at last they fled with precipitation, leaving above forty of their number in his hands, while he himself had not a single man hurt.

At the beginning of 1825 a fresh naval Commander arrived, Captain Alexander of the *Alligator*, a 28-gun frigate; and in the course of the summer he in his turn was superseded by the Commodore on the Indian station, Sir James Brisbane; but the change of commanders produced no diminution in the triumphs of our seamen, as each in succession carried on the requisite operations with vigour and skill equal to that which had been displayed

by his predecessors. Captain Alexander had opportunities of performing services of even greater apparent brilliancy, since the entire overthrow of the Burmese in the lower part of the river now enabled both our army and fleet to advance towards Ava. The large vessels could not, indeed, expect to be able to proceed far up the stream, so the greater part of their crews were transferred to the boats, which, under the protection of the Satellite and Diana, and eight mortar-vessels and gunboats, in the middle of February, began their adventurous voyage into the heart of the country. Their progress was never unopposed for many miles together: even before they reached the mouth of the Pawlang channel and entered the main river they had to scatter more than one flotilla, and to encounter more than one well-placed stockade: but it would be wearisome to repeat the tale of conflict after conflict, each of which bore the same character, and had the same result in the utter defeat of the barbarians. The heaviest part of the fighting devolved indeed on the army; but throughout the whole march the aid of the squadron was indispensable not only to its success but to its safety: protecting its flank which otherwise would have been harassed by the warboats without the possibility of retaliation; and more than once enabling it to cross the Irrawaddy, and thus to force the enemy's strongholds on either side of that most rapid and difficult river. Thus aided and supported, the army at the beginning of April captured the important town of Donabew without the loss of a man: before the end of the month Prome also surrendered; and when at the beginning of September Sir James Brisbane arrived, he found the pride of the enemy so far humbled that they had consented to negotiate for the restoration of peace, though subsequent events made it doubtful whether their object had been any other than to gain time. At all events, before the end of November, they broke off the negotiations, renewed the war with greater vigour

than ever, and brought up an army of 50,000 men to attack our force at Prome. The battles which ensued on the 1st and 2nd of December were the most important of the war, and in each the squadron bore a most important share; directing a heavy cannonade on the enemy's lines, one side of which rested on the river, and capturing the whole of a flotilla consisting of nearly 300 boats laden with provisions and ammunition for the use of the land-force. The General and the Commodore now pushed rapidly on; by the middle of the month they arrived at Meaday, a place of great strength, which, however, as well as several strong positions lower down the river, the enemy had evacuated before our arrival: and before the close of the year they reached Melloone, under the walls of which town they were again met by offers to treat, and where in fact on the 3rd of January, 1826, a treaty was signed, which granted nearly all our demands. It soon, however, appeared that the Burmese Sovereign had no intention of executing it; and on the 19th of January Sir Archibald Campbell recommenced hostilities, storming Melloone the same day, while the squadron, now again under command of Captain Chads, since Sir James Brisbane had been attacked by sickness, and had returned to Rangoon, co-operated with the army in the same manner and with the same success as before.

After the fall of Melloone our combined force pressed the advance towards the capital with increased rapidity, till they reached Yandaboo, only forty-five miles from Ava. The army on its march had given the barbarians another severe defeat at Pagahmmew; and this last blow coupled with the certainty that no force now remained capable of preserving the capital itself from capture, brought the faithless King to reason; and he sent ambassadors once more to solicit peace, and to prove his sincerity by the payment of a quarter of million of money. He obtained the peace he sought

by the sacrifice of nearly a third of his territory. And our forces of both kinds returned to Bengal. Both had done and had gained substantial advantages for their country, but the exploits of the seamen are by far the more remarkable ; since modern history furnished no previous example of a squadron penetrating several hundred miles up a river wholly unknown to our pilots, vanquishing its enemies in the very heart of their own country, and returning in safety without injury to a single vessel of any kind, and with scarcely more loss of life in twenty months of warfare than might have been expected to attend a peaceful sojourn of the same duration in a country so trying to European constitutions.

For many years the Burmese remembered the lesson which they had received too well to provoke a repetition of it ; but as the generation which had seen our army overrun their territory, and our fleet penetrate their rivers, died away, the impression that these exploits had at first made grew naturally weaker ; and in 1851 our traders began to complain that the treaty of 1826 was systematically violated, that they were subject to insult, imprisonment, occasionally even to torture at the hands of the Governor of Rangoon, and that to their demands for redress they could obtain no reply. Lord Dalhousie, then at the head of our Indian Government, resolved to obtain it for them, and, without allowing the Burmese authorities to entangle him in a long negotiation, the moment that it was plain that no peaceful means would suffice to procure satisfaction, declared war against Burmah ; and sent an army of nearly 6000 men under General Godwin to carry it on by land ; while Rear-Admiral Austin, at that time the naval Commander-in-chief on the Indian station, furnished a small squadron consisting of the Fox, 40, Commodore Lambert, and four smaller vessels, to which were added thirteen more belonging to the East India Company and the Uncovered Service. War was declared on the 2nd of April ;

but before that day our forces were on the Burmese coast.\* Admiral Austin even went himself for a short time to the scene of action, leaving his own ship, the *Hastings*, at Singapore, and crossing to Burmah in the *Rattler*, in order to superintend the first operations in person. The first object of attack was Martaban, the chief city of the province of the same name, which, at a distance of about eighty miles east of the Irrawaddy, lies on the river Salween, about fifteen miles from its mouth, behind the large island of Pelew Gewen. As General Godwin was in the *Hermes*, Austin, for the convenience of communication with him, shifted his flag into that vessel, and on the morning of the 5th commenced hostilities by moving with her, the *Rattler*, and the East India Company's steamer *Tenasserim* carrying troops up the river. But as they approached the city, the *Hermes* grounded on one of the numerous shoals with which the river abounds; and, followed by the *Tenasserim*, the *Rattler* passed a head, and successfully threading the intricate channel, took up a position under the walls of the city in a way that excited the admiration of all who saw her. Seeing her thus strongly posted, the two commanders quitted the *Hermes*, and the Admiral, rehoisting his flag in her, with her long guns so severely battered the walls and a pagoda, which were the chief defences of the place, that, by the time the troops had landed, the garrison was disabled from all resistance, and at once surrendered.

At Rangoon the struggle was fiercer. The attack had

\* The Queen's squadron consisted of the following vessels:—

40	Fox . . . . .	Commodore G. Lambert.
16	Serpent . . . . .	Commander Luard.
11	Rattler (screw) . . . .	Commander Mellersh.
6	{ <i>Hermes</i> (paddle) . . . .	Commander Fishbourne.
	{ <i>Salamander</i> (paddle) . .	Commander Ellman.
	And a gunboat, Mr. R. Copland, Acting Mate.	

The other vessels were E.I.C.'s ships:—*Feroze*, 7; *Moozuffer*, 7; *Zenobia*, 6; *Medusa*, 5; *Sesostris*, 4; *Bercings*, 1. And from the *Uncovenanted Service*:—*Pluto*, 7; *Tenasserim*, 6; *Phlegethon*, 6; *Proserpine*, 6; *Mahanudie*, 4; *Enterprise*, 2; *Fire Queen*, 2; being mostly paddle-steamers.



been fixed to take place on the 12th, Easter Monday ; and, on the morning of the 11th, the squadron began to move up the river as soon as the rising tide enabled them to cross the shoals, with the intention of remaining quietly at anchor till the next morning. But the Burmese, provoked at their presence as if in attitude of defiance under their very walls, at once assailed our leading ships, the *Feroze*, *Moozuffer*, and *Sesostris*, with a brisk cannonade : they replied with shot and shell, and had already blown up a magazine, whose explosion had disabled a well-placed and stockaded battery of nine heavy guns, when the *Fox* herself arrived. Her heavy broadsides and those of the *Rattler* soon silenced all the stockades on the banks of the river ; and Commander Tarleton of the *Fox*, landing at the head of a small party of seamen and marines, forced his way into them one after another, spiking their guns, and destroying their ammunition. Rangoon itself was no longer in the situation which it had occupied in the former war. Dreading a second visit from our fleet, the inhabitants had pulled down the old city, and had rebuilt a new one, a mile and a quarter from the banks of the river ; which they had fortified round its entire circuit with a mud-wall sixteen feet high and eight thick, and with a lofty pagoda to serve as a citadel. The principal attack on a city so placed, of necessity, fell to the soldiers : but the Burmese had forgotten that, though it was safe from our ships' round-shot, it was not out of the reach of their shells, for which the pagoda afforded an excellent mark ; and throughout the 12th, while the troops were attacking the walls on one side, the squadron bombarded the pagoda ; and by blowing up a large magazine, and setting fire to several of the stockades erected at different parts of the city, contributed in no slight degree to its reduction. A naval brigade too, of a hundred and twenty men, under Mr. Dorville, First-lieutenant of the *Fox*, served

on shore with the troops; and, though the heat was so excessive that some of our officers and men fell beneath the strokes of the sun, and died where they fell, laboured unremittingly in the construction of a battery of heavy guns, and won the cordial praise of their military commander.

Beneath the combined attack, so vigorously conducted, Rangoon soon yielded. On the 14th the General stormed the pagoda, whose fall involved that of the city. And in order to increase the consternation and perplexity of the enemy, by directing his attacks on different and distant points, he, in concert with Commodore Lambert (for the Admiral had returned to India after the fall of Rangoon), planned an attack upon Bassein; and in the middle of May, the two commanders started to carry it into execution. The Commodore left the Fox at Rangoon, and took with him none but steam-vessels belonging to the East India Company, which their lighter draught of water rendered more suitable than the Queen's ships for operations in the shallow river on which Bassein stands. He accordingly hoisted his pendant for the time in the Tenasserim; and with her, the Pluto, Sesostriis, and Moozuffer, having on board the General, seven hundred and seventy soldiers, and a small party of seamen and marines from the Fox, he, on the 18th, reached the island of Negrais, at the mouth of the Bassein River, and in the afternoon of the next day anchored in front of the city itself. The enemy made a fierce, but a most brief resistance. It was half-past four when the signal was made to anchor, and the ships and stockades began to fire upon one another; the troops at the same time landing under cover of our guns. At half-past five the last of the stockades was carried by storm; the soldiers forcing their way into some, the seamen into others, under Lieutenant Rice of the Fox, who, in spite of a severe wound which he received, refused to retire till

the place was won. A formidable battery, on the other side of the river, was in like manner destroyed by Captain Campbell of the *Sesostris*, with the crew of his own ship. Before evening, the garrison of six thousand men relinquished the town; and General Godwin, having placed in it a small garrison, returned with the Commodore to Rangoon, which they reached on the 23rd, after a successful expedition which had only lasted a single week.

The chief line of operations was so plainly marked out for our commanders by the course of the Irrawaddy, and they had been attended with such decisive success in the former war, that our commanders decided on repeating them as nearly as possible; and at the beginning of July, Commander Tarleton, with a squadron, was sent up the river to attack Prome. Opposite Meaoung, an army of seven thousand men, under Bandoola, the Burmese Commander-in-chief, was collected on the banks of the river to check our advance; but Tarleton, having learnt from a native pilot that, at that season of the year, there was sufficient water for his vessels in a small channel to the eastward, steamed up through that, and thus, on the 9th of July, reached Prome to find it entirely defenceless. He took possession of it, but had no force with him to enable him to retain it; and the next day he rejoined the Commodore. Three months later it was again taken possession of, almost without resistance; and Captain Loch, of the *Winchester*, 50, subsequently destroyed a number of stockades and fortifications in the neighbourhood, which seemed to have been constructed as rallying points for a beaten army. One, a short distance below the city, was singularly strong, being placed on some heights, known as Akouktou, which the ships' guns could hardly reach, and being armed with five guns, and garrisoned by nearly four hundred men. But while Lieutenant Fraser, of the *East India Company's Service*, brought his vessel, the *Medusa*, close in to cover him with his fire, Captain

Loch landed with a small force of eighty men ; clambered up the hill by a narrow pathway, so overgrown with jungle that the enemy never saw him till he was close upon them ; then, after a hasty and harmless volley, they fled in confusion, and he destroyed the battery, which, while in their hands, would have enabled them greatly to harass our vessels when approaching or retiring from Prome.

Before the end of the month, Pegu was taken with similar ease ; but, as we left it with but a small garrison, the enemy conceived the idea that it might be easily retaken ; and, at the beginning of December, invested it with the most numerous army that they had collected against us in the whole course of the war. Commodore Lambert, whose headquarters were at Rangoon, at first thought it sufficient to send Commander Shadwell of the *Sphinx*, 6, with half-a-dozen boats, and a force which did not quite amount to a hundred and fifty men, to ascertain the state of affairs ; but that handful of men was unable to contend with the vastly superior numbers of the Burmese ; and its Commander was forced to retire with a loss of upwards of thirty men. His report, however, convinced the Commodore and the General of the imminence of the danger, and they at once sent down a force adequate to the emergency : General Godwin himself taking fourteen hundred soldiers ; and the Commodore providing one or two of the light steamers, and all the boats of the squadron, heavily armed, and manned with above a thousand men, under the command of Captain Tarleton, who had recently been promoted for the gallantry he had displayed in the beginning of the year. Even this combined force scarcely exceeded a third of the enemy's numbers, but it was sufficient for its object : the enemy retired before it without a struggle to maintain its ground, and made no further attempt to recover the city.

The regular Burmese army, indeed, seemed by this time to be disheartened ; but the chiefs of some of the

half-independent tribes still kept up the war: and one of these, whose name was Nya-nuyat-toon, inflicted on us the severest loss which we sustained during the whole war. He had seized upon a post in the neighbourhood of Donabew, so favourably situated that it was necessary for us to expel him, if we desired to preserve the mastery in the lower part of the river. Accordingly, the General sent against him a body of three hundred infantry; to co-operate with them, Commodore Lambert placed an almost equal number of seamen under Captain Loch; on the 2nd of February, 1853, the combined force reached Donabew, and the next morning proceeded against the enemy: Captain Loch leaving but a small party in charge of the boats, and forming the rest into a naval brigade to act on shore. They marched all day without meeting an enemy; and, resuming their advance on the morning of the 4th, at the end of two or three hours reached a deep and broad creek, beyond which the enemy lay in a strongly intrenched position; and from whence they at once opened a fire on our men, to which they had no means of replying with effect, while the path by which they were advancing was so beset with thick jungle that to storm the post was equally impossible. The brunt of the contest fell on the naval brigade. Again and again Captain Loch endeavoured at different points to find a way across the creek, but none such could be discovered; and meanwhile the enemy's fire made terrible havoc in his ranks. His first-lieutenant, Mr. Kennedy, fell dead by his side; presently, he himself received a mortal wound; and at last, after we had lost nearly sixty men, Commander R. Lambert of the Fox, who had succeeded to the command, was compelled to relinquish the attack and to retreat. Two field-pieces, which Captain Loch had brought with him, but had been unable to get into position, were spiked and abandoned. And, with his surviving men, the Commander sadly retraced his way to the boats.

But a defeat such as this, however distressing to those who had to lament their comrades who had fallen in it, could have no influence on the rest of the war. That had been determined by the capture of Rangoon, Pegu, and Prome. And in the course of the summer we formally annexed the maritime district of Pegu to our Indian dominions ; and the Burmese monarch, though he refused to sign any regular formal treaty of peace, expressed his acquiescence in the measure, and by a formal proclamation opened the Irrawaddy to British trade.

During the period that elapsed between the first and second Burmese wars, the South American coast witnessed a still bolder exploit of our fleets in river navigation, and a fight against batteries which, though necessarily conducted in small vessels, yet for its fierceness, for the difficulties to which our men were exposed, and for the gallantry with which they overcame those difficulties, had had no equal since Algiers. The expedition had its origin in that complicated series of revolutions which, nearly twenty years before, had convulsed a great portion of the South American coast. After most of the districts had been restored to a state of tranquillity, Brazil and Buenos Ayres still waged war upon one another for the possession of the province of Uruguay or Banda Oriental, as it was more commonly called ; which its extent of sea-coast, and the admirable position of its capital, Monte Video, rendered an object of desire to both. At last we interfered, and prevailed upon the contending parties to allow the province to choose its own side or its own form of government. Left to themselves, the Orientalists decided on forming an independent state, under a president, whose power was to last four years. But the deliverance thus secured to them from foreign enemies only left them a readier prey to internal disorders. Every successive president became the object of cabals and intrigues, of which the most remarkable feature was that, instead of the town

giving the tone to the country districts, as has usually been the case in Europe, the country, from having the power to starve it into submission, gave the law to the town; and, in 1842, General Oribe, who was then President, was expelled before he had completed half of his appointed time of office. He fled to Buenos Ayres, whose dictator, Rosas, gladly embraced such a pretext for making war upon Monte Video, and at once marched an army to the Uruguay, the river which forms the western frontier of the Banda, and invaded the province, in which there was apparently no force capable of resisting him; the rapid growth of Monte Video having caused even the fortifications of that city to be demolished. The small force which Riviera, the governor who had superseded Oribe, could collect to oppose him, was easily defeated. But Mr. Mandeville, the British Minister residing at Monte Video, who had already ineffectually endeavoured to arrest the progress of Rosas by remonstrances, now, by promises of support from England and France, encouraged the citizens to resist the conqueror's attempt to possess himself of the Capital; and Oribe, who was in command of the army to which he trusted for his restoration, was forced to content himself with establishing a rigid blockade of the city by land, while a Buenos Ayrean squadron, under the command of an Englishman named Brown, proceeded to cut off its supplies by sea.

On that side, Captain Purvis, who was in the river with a small British squadron, protected the city from attack. But, as he could not enable it to procure supplies, the citizens were, after a time, reduced to the greatest distress, and would perhaps have submitted to receive back their expelled President, had they not been unexpectedly aided by the very last kind of force to which they would have looked for its assistance. Many thousand French had of late years taken up their residence in Monte Video, and now gladly formed a brigade of three thousand men,

to act against Oribe, in the hope of compelling him to raise a siege by which they were nearly starved. They did not prove very effective, and the citizens received far greater benefit from the prowess of a miscellaneous force, the refuse of all nations, from Englishmen down to negroes, which had been organized by an Englishman, who, though known by no more dignified title than that of Cockney Sam, had displayed considerable talents in handling a force of the kind. To imitate in some degree the uniforms of the British army, he had dressed his men in red shirts; and, being foremost in every sally, had made that dress an object of universal terror to Oribe's army. And, excited by his example, an Italian named Garibaldi, who had already served against Rosas, and, having been taken prisoner by him, had been treated with great brutality by his general, Urquieza, raised a small regiment of five hundred Italians from the crews of the coasting-vessels in the river. To strengthen the effect of his little force, by raising such an impression in their favour as could be created by a resemblance to Cockney Sam's followers, Garibaldi adopted their dress, and clothed his Italians also in the red shirts which he has since made so famous in the more glorious service of his native land. He succeeded in every enterprise which he undertook, preventing the besiegers from gaining any advantage over the citizens, and often inflicting on them severe losses. Till, at last, the great inconvenience caused by the entire stoppage of trade on the Plata, which was the natural consequence of the war, induced the English and French Governments to make an endeavour to terminate it. With this view, in July, 1845, they sent out Mr. Gore Ouseley and Baron Defandis as envoys to induce Rosas to withdraw his army; and, at the same time, Admirals Inglefield and Lainé, the officers in command of the squadron which each nation had in the Plata, received directions, if the peaceful remonstrances of the envoys should not suffice



to procure the raising of the siege, to employ their cannon for the attainment of that end. They were at the same time instructed to limit their operations to the relief of the city and the surrounding territory, and to abstain from any acts of aggressive warfare against the state of Buenos Ayres.

The result showed how difficult it is to make half a war. We need not here enter into the intricate details of the different steps by which the allied squadrons were gradually led into an invasion of Rosas's territory, and an attack upon his fortifications more than two hundred miles from the district to the relief of which the first instructions limited their operations. Nor is it our province to discuss the policy or justice of the measures which were adopted ; but only to relate the operations by which our sailors, on learning from the ambassadors the failure of their efforts, carried out the instructions which they had received in the expectation of such a contingency. They instantly seized Admiral Brown and his squadron, and then proceeded to Colonia, the town next in importance to Monte Video, and nearly opposite to Buenos Ayres, to expel a force with which Rosas had some time before taken possession of it. The intrusive garrison had no means of making any effectual resistance, but, on the appearance of our squadron, they at once began to prepare for their retreat by plundering and burning a great part of the town : and, at the same time, from the hill behind the town, they fired a few random guns at our ships : but a few well-aimed shots from the squadron drove them from their position ; and a small force of seamen and marines was landed from the ships, who re-occupied the place, repaired the landward defences, and remained for a time to garrison it against any fresh attempt which might be made upon it.

The Admirals now proceeded to the island of Martin Garcia ; but finding the fortifications there dismantled, returned with the larger ships to Monte Video, leaving a small

squadron\* under the command of Captain C. Hotham and Captain Trehouart, to carry on whatever river operations might be necessary. The first thing to be done was to give a squadron of gunboats, which Garibaldi was preparing to lead up the Uruguay, our protection as far as Paisandu, a town about a hundred and fifty miles from Martin Garcia, which was understood to be strongly fortified; and here the extraordinary talents of Commander Sullivan as a surveyor and pilot, which, at a later period, proved of such conspicuous service in the Baltic, were first brought into prominent notice. The natives of the district had always supposed that no vessel drawing above twelve feet of water could pass more than a few miles up the river; while of our vessels, even the Dolphin drew thirteen, and the Gorgon required not less than seventeen feet. But Sullivan found a channel of which the existence had been previously unsuspected, by which he conducted the Gorgon, Philomel, and Dolphin (the rest of the squadron was left at the mouth of the river), to a point within six miles of Paisandu. And he might probably have carried even the Gorgon up to the town, had he not ascertained the reports of its strength and state of hostile preparation to be utterly unfounded, so that it appeared sufficient for himself and Lieutenant Levinge to escort the gunboats above it: and then the whole squadron prepared to return. The river had fallen greatly since they entered it, so that the voyage down was an enterprise of increased difficulty, but Sullivan's skill sur-

\* The British part of the squadron consisted of:—Gorgon, 6,† Captain Hotham; Firebrand, 6,† Captain J. Hope; Philomel, 6 (surveying-vessel), Commander J. B. Sullivan; Comus, 6, Acting Commander Inglefield; Dolphin, 3, Lieutenant Levinge; Fanny, 1 (tender to Gorgon), Lieutenant Key.

The French ships were:—San Martin, 8, Captain Trehouart; Fulton, 2,† Captain Mayères; Expeditive, 18, Captain de Miniac; Pandour, 12, Captain Dupare; Procida, 4, Captain de la Rivière; the greater part of their guns being carronades.

mounted every obstacle: the ships rejoined the rest of the squadron and the French contingent at Martin Garcia in safety; and Captain Hotham, with M. Trehouart, now decided on opening the navigation of the Parana also. Of all the rivers of the district, that was the most important to European commerce; but Rosas had kept it closed for several years; and the present seemed a particularly favourable moment for putting an end to such a state of affairs, since Corrientes, a province belonging to Buenos Ayres, higher up the river, was now in a state of revolt against the Dictator's government. At the same time it was known that the ascent of the Parana would not be so easy as that of the Uruguay had proved; since information had been received that at Obligado, a town a little more than a hundred miles from the mouth, Rosas had established batteries of great strength, and had also in some way or other thrown a barrier across the whole width of the stream. Perhaps the knowledge of the obstacles to be encountered was not the least among the inducements to the enterprise; but, however that may have been, early in November the squadron began to make its way up the Parana, and on the 18th anchored within three miles of the enemy whom they had come to seek. The same night Sullivan, with Captain Mayéres of the *Fulton*, went up in his gig as far as the barrier, examining it thoroughly, and sounding up to the water's edge under the batteries. He brought back an accurate report of the whole, and, under his guidance, the next morning the Commanders reconnoitred the position in person; which they found far stronger than they had expected. On the right or eastern bank of the river four batteries, two on heights sixty feet above the stream, one on somewhat lower ground, and one scarcely above the water's edge, were armed with twenty-two heavy guns and a rocket-tube; while eight field-pieces were posted in the woods in the rear, and, for nearly a mile down the bank, distance-posts had been fixed at intervals to guide the

artillerymen in their aim. Across the river, which was here about eight hundred yards wide, four-and-twenty large empty vessels were moored just below the furthest battery, each being also fastened to its neighbour by three stout chain cables, which were stretched across them from shore to shore. Just above this barrier, at its western extremity, the *Republicano*, a schooner with six guns, all on the side looking down the stream, and two gunboats, lay to protect that end of it; and below, in the centre of the river, lay a flotilla of ten fireships, ready for action; the whole force, both on the river and on land, being under the command of the brother-in-law of Rosas, General Mancilla. Still, strong as the line of defence was, the allies did not doubt their power of mastering it, and it was decided to attack it the next morning.

As the sailing-vessels were considered less liable to be disabled than the steamers, the honour of commencing the engagement was allotted to them. And they were divided into two squadrons, each consisting of two English and two French ships; that on the left, consisting of the *Philomel*, *Fanny*, *Expeditive*, and *Procida*, being placed under Commander Sullivan; the right division being commanded by M. Trehouart in the *San Martin*, and being composed, besides his own ship, of the *Pandour*, the *Comus*, and the *Dolphin*. The three steamers, *Gorgon*, *Firebrand*, and *Fulton*, were kept in reserve; and, when the batteries should be silenced, the boats were to carry in landing-parties to drive out the garrison and take possession of them. The plan was skilfully arranged. And to execute it, the next morning a little before nine o'clock, the two attacking squadrons weighed and stood towards the enemies' batteries. The stream was so rapid, running nearly four knots an hour, and the breeze was so light, that they advanced very slowly; and when the *Philomel*, who was leading her division, arrived within twelve hundred yards of the nearest batteries, they opened upon her with the

greatest rapidity and precision. In less than five minutes they had knocked one of her bow-gun carriages to pieces, and had greatly crippled her rigging. The rest of the squadron were as yet unable to get up to her support, since, as they tried to bring their broadsides to bear, the strength of the stream carried them some distance back: and Sullivan, beginning to doubt his power of reaching his appointed station, six hundred yards from the batteries, decided on opening his fire three hundred yards further off. His men's aim equalled, it could not surpass, that of the enemy: but still, as the whole of their fire was directed on him, he was suffering severely; when Lieutenant Levinge, who, in the *Dolphin*, had been anchored in front of his comrades of the right squadron, seeing his danger, with great gallantry weighed and by himself pushed on to his support. The enemy now turned their guns upon him with an effect even surpassing that of their fire on the *Philomel*. One of Rosas's most trusted officers, Rodriguez, commanded the batteries on the right of their position; he stood on the top, conspicuous by a white waistcoat, the greater part of the forenoon, and himself pointed many of the guns. From time to time he was distinctly seen to stoop and look along a piece; and every time he did so an unerring shot plunged into the *Dolphin*'s sides. Her men were not idle; and a gunner's mate, named Rowe, deserves especial mention. He had attained great skill in his art, and had already done no small execution, when he received a severe and most painful wound in the foot. The moment that it was dressed, he returned to his post, and, though unable to stand on the injured limb, remained at it throughout the day; nor could those who watched him perceive that the agony which he was suffering produced the slightest effect on the steadiness of his hand or the deadly accuracy of his fire.

Presently the *Dolphin* was even more crippled than the *Philomel* had been; but she, too, soon received the support

that she had so well deserved : for in less than twenty minutes after she had got into action, the San Martin, pressing on under all sail came up, and passing her to take up her own intended station drew off from her a great portion of the enemy's fire. They were the more eager to destroy the French ship, because she had been their own, having carried Admiral Brown's flag when we seized the Buenos Ayrean squadron at Monte Video, and one of the batteries here was under the command of the Admiral's son. She had nearly reached her station when her anchor was let go by one of the enemy's shot, and in this position she too was soon almost disabled ; her hull was riddled by round shot, most of her guns were dismounted, half her crew and all her officers except Captain Trehouart himself were killed or wounded : by this time, however, the rest of the squadron had got up, (though from the lightness of the breeze and the strength of the stream, none were able to take up quite as forward a position as had been intended), and their united fire soon began to make its due impression. The fire-ships failed ; the greater part of them were never properly kindled, and of those that were our ships contrived to keep clear as they drifted down the stream. At last, when the battle had lasted a little more than two hours, the crew of the Republicano, unable to stand the heavy fire of the starboard guns of the San Martin and Dolphin, deserted her, and set her on fire : presently she blew up ; the gunboats retreated up the river, and immediately Captain Hope volunteered to pull up in his gig and cut through the barrier. The armourers had been practised for some days at sawing iron chains asunder, till they had learnt to perform this work with great rapidity. And now the moment that his offer was accepted, Captain Hope dashed forward, supported by one of the Dolphin's boats also, and at once began his audacious task. His comrades below trembled for his safety, as they beheld him standing up in his boat encouraging his men, his commanding figure making him a conspicuous mark for a perfect storm

of grape, canister, and rifle bullets, which the enemy poured upon him. Providence watched over him. It was in vain that Rodriguez now stooped along his gun ; it was in vain that Mancilla pointed him out to his followers, offering two hundred dollars to the fortunate marksman who would bring him down. Every shot passed harmlessly by him ; in four minutes the chains which united the fifth and sixth vessels from the western bank were sawn through ; the cables by which the vessels were anchored were also cut ; they drifted asunder ; the Fulton, which, having gallantly come up to the aid of her Commodore, was far in advance of the other steamers, dashed through the opening, and the victory was secured.

Presently the Gorgon and Firebrand also passed through the shattered barrier, and poured a tremendous cannonade on the batteries from that side, while below the Comus and Expeditive ranged up within musket shot of the enemy's position, and the fire of the whole squadron thus concentrated speedily silenced the greater part of the guns on shore. By four o'clock they were reduced to fire only occasional shots ; and Hotham, finding all his arrangements successful up to this point, now made the signal for the English boats to prepare to land, and sent to M. Trehouart to give him notice that the time was come for his men to co-operate in that part of the plan. The French Captain's gallantry, which had been the admiration of both squadrons, had disabled him from performing that part of his agreement. His ship and boats were so cut to pieces that they were utterly unable to land any men ; but he proposed instead to take in those of his vessels which were still capable of service, and stand in below the barrier, within pistolshot, to cover the landing of our party. So zealously did he perform his promise that he actually ran the Pandour and the Expeditive on shore in its execution ; and, under cover of their fire, Hotham, Hope, and Sullivan landed at five o'clock, at the head of three hundred sea-

men and marines, to complete the triumph. Silenced though the enemy's batteries were, it was yet a bold step; for we had reason to believe the enemy's garrison to have consisted of not fewer than three thousand men when the fight began; and the woods behind the batteries were so thick that it was impossible to distinguish either the number or position of the force that might still be sheltered in them. Hotham, however, bravely and truly affirmed that, if we omitted to destroy every gun, the work would have been but half done; and the men whom he commanded had already shown with sufficient clearness that no step could be too bold for them willingly to engage in. They landed in the centre of the enemy's position; turning to the left, Sullivan led his men up the hill, and, supported by Captain Rundle of the Marines, Lieutenant Richards of the *Philomel*, and Lieutenant Key of the *Fanny*, an officer of great promise, which has since been amply realised, in spite of a heavy fire of musketry from a detachment concealed in the woods, stormed the upper battery, and spiked the guns; and while he was doing this, Hope, with a small party of seamen from the *Firebrand* and *Gorgon*, and his First-lieutenant Mr. Barker with a small detachment of seamen from the *Firebrand* and *Comus*, drove the enemy's infantry out of the wood. He soon had a further support, for, as brave men can generally find means of doing what they wish to do, in spite of the disabled state of his vessels, M. Trehouart contrived to land a brigade of French seamen, who, with their natural vivacity of movement, dashed up the hill and joined our men, and with their aid we speedily carried all the remaining batteries.

For that night the men, contented with what had been done, returned to their ships. The next day they landed again to complete the destruction of the batteries, and met with no resistance; the enemy having all retreated, except a single troop of cavalry, who, led, it is believed, by



Rodriguez himself, at one time made a show of advancing towards us, but fell back before a single gun. Our men, at their second landing, were amazed to see the slaughter which they had made. Shattered as two of their own ships had been, their loss in killed and wounded had been only thirty-three men ; that of the French had been about equal to it, or rather heavier. But the dead whom they found in the enemy's batteries far exceeded that number ; and those which they saw were not half of those who had fallen, since the earlier victims had all been removed in carts in the course of the forenoon. It was evident that Rosas had sustained a blow which would not only damage his reputation among his countrymen, but must also seriously have impaired his military power.

Hotham prepared to follow up with vigour the blow which he had dealt. Leaving Hope in the *Firebrand* with the chief command from Obligado to Bajada, a town some distance up the river, and entrusting to the *Comus* the task of preventing the reconstruction of the batteries at Obligado, he, piloted by Sullivan, who had surveyed the whole river up to that point with most extraordinary diligence, and with what seemed to others an instinctive knowledge of shoals and sandbanks, proceeded to Corrientes, nearly eight hundred miles from the mouth of the river, and there negociated with the chiefs ; his natural address being greatly aided in the task of bringing them to enter into his views by the unexpected presence of a British man-of-war in waters where their own pilots would hardly have ventured to carry a vessel of half the size. His object in this negociation, as he explained to the authorities at Corrientes, was commercial, not political ; to open the trade to the merchantmen of Europe, which had been long excluded from their waters ; and, in his pursuit of it, he was aided by the active sympathy of the people of Corrientes, who were all desirous of free intercourse with Europe, and who saw in it the best hope of

prosperity for their province. His success in these negotiations, however, only exasperated Rosas. That fierce chief had attacked our ships as they passed up the river, at one or two points where his batteries could command the river ; and when, at the beginning of June, 1846, it became known to him that the allied squadron was preparing to escort a large flotilla of richly-laden merchantmen down to Monte Video, he made ready once more to dispute their passage. At San Lorenzo, a town about as far above Obligado as that place is distant from the mouth of the river, he had a second strongly fortified position, with which our vessels had more than once exchanged shots in the course of the winter ; and which he had since strengthened till he believed it equal to a regular action. The batteries were indeed hardly as strong as those on which he had relied at Obligado, but, on the other hand, they had advantages which those had not had : since the cliffs on which they were placed were seventy feet high, and of a steepness so unbroken, that they were entirely protected from any attempt to land and storm them ; while the tableland, being level and clear of trees, offered every facility that could be wished for the movement of guns. The allied commanders, however, without undervaluing the strength of the position, had no fear of encountering it. Both squadrons had been strengthened by an additional steam-vessel ; the English *Alecto*, 3, Commander Austen, and the French *Gasendi* ; and the *Alecto* had brought out a powerful rocket-battery, of which we were resolved to let the Buenos Ayreans feel the power. On the opposite side of the river, a low sandy beach, undulating with one or two sandbanks and gullies, and almost facing the enemy's heaviest battery, afforded ground where the rockets and a party of men sufficient to serve them might be entirely concealed till the moment should come when their missiles were to be launched. It was carefully reconnoitred : the rockets under the command of Lieutenant M'Kinnon of the *Alecto*, and

Lieutenant Barnard of the Marine Artillery, were placed in their ambush ; and, when all was ready on the morning of the 4th of June, the squadron which had been anchored a mile or two higher up the stream, weighed anchor, and proceeded leisurely to pass down in defiance of the batteries. A hundred and ten merchant-vessels were depending on the skill and success of the arrangements that had been made for their safety ; and to secure it, at half-past ten the Gorgon, firing one or two guns as she went, passed down the stream with the Aleeto and Fulton, and anchored just below the main batteries, but abreast of some detached guns planted along the cliff ; while the Firebrand and Gassendi took their station in her rear, so as to enfilade another battery.

The steamers the enemy were prepared for ; but the first gun fired by the Gorgon was the signal for the rocket-battery, of whose existence they had no suspicion, to open its fire. It was served with extraordinary vigour and rapidity, each tube at one time throwing a rocket every nine seconds ; and, as a considerable portion of the enemy's force consisted of cavalry, it spread extraordinary confusion among them. While the smoke which the rockets caused, and which, owing to the low ground on which they were posted, hung almost immoveably over them, prevented the gunners on the cliffs from replying to them with the very slightest effect. The Gorgon and the other steamers were equally busy ; from the position of the enemy's batteries so far above them, they were compelled to confine themselves to shells, and those they all threw with admirable precision, dismounting guns, blowing up tumbrils, and at times shattering even the solid earth-works. Meanwhile the merchant-vessels, under the guidance of the Dolphin, pushed on, passing behind the steamers ; and, when they were safe, the men-of-war ceased their fire, and followed them down the river. It cannot be said that the whole convoy did pass ; four of the vessels were so unskil-

fully handled by their officers that they ran aground, and, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, Hotham was forced to burn them; but this was the only mishap that occurred. Every one of the steamers was hulled and hit repeatedly, as were more than three-fourths of the convoy, yet, strange to say, not a single man in the fleet was either killed or wounded.

This was the end of our warlike operations in this region. Hotham very properly refused to interfere in the revolution which was taking place at Corrientes; and after he reached Monte Video, he left the conclusion of our affairs in the province in the hands of negociators. Subsequently the views of the Government at home underwent a change. The policy which had dictated the advance up the Parana was reversed, and even the guns which had been carried off from Obligado were restored. But no variations of policy could rob the little squadron of the honour of its well-won victory at Obligado, or its unparalleled voyage eight hundred miles up an unknown river, which not a single native of the country had previously believed to be passable by vessels of half the size which had followed the Philomel up and down the stream with the most absolute safety.

## CHAPTER XLI.

1830—1860.

Exertions of Great Britain for the suppression of the slave-trade—Captain Broughton takes the *Veloz Passagera*—Lieutenant Ramsay takes the *Marinerito*—Commander Denman destroys the barracoons at Gallinas—Commander A. Murray—Sir Charles Hotham—Commodore H. Bruce takes Lagos—Commodore Wise finds the slave-trade at Congo—Blockades the coast—Defeats the Soosas in two expeditions—Commodore Edmonstone takes Porto Novo—Captain Oldfield in the Mozambique.

OF all the warlike operations which have ever been carried on under the British flag, there are none which redound so greatly to our credit as a nation as those which have been undertaken for the suppression of the slave-trade. They have been engaged in from no motives of self-interest: for our own colonies were in no respect affected by the nefarious traffic. They were dictated by no real or fancied obligation to enforce our laws, to which those who carried it on were never amenable. They were not even prompted by any desire to preserve our own reputation from taint; for no one had for generations accused us, either as a nation or individuals, of any participation, however indirect, in its atrocities or its gains. But they owed both their origin and their persevering resolute continuance to a pure unselfish philanthropy; and they also owe the great (alas! that we cannot say the entire) success which has attended them to the conviction, which even the nations most addicted to the trade are unable to resist, that our motives are as blameless, as honorable, as our exertions have been untiring.

The principal seat of the trade was and is the Guinea

coast, and the district to the north between it and Sierra Leone; and there, as soon as the fall of Napoleon had restored peace to Europe, we established a squadron of small vessels, with instructions to harass those engaged in the barbarous traffic, by every means in their power. The commanders eagerly followed out their orders in their most extended sense; nor do the annals of the service furnish more brilliant instances of fearless gallantry against honorable foes, than those which have been displayed by them and their followers in a warfare which, as carried on against the vilest of the human race, would have been most ignoble were it not sanctified by its object. To record all the deeds of heroism on the part of our seamen which the Gulf of Guinea has witnessed, would be an endless task; the limits of the present work do not permit more than the enumeration of a very few, which appear to call for particular mention, either from the extraordinary difficulties of the various exploits or from the lasting effect which they seem calculated to produce on the trade itself.

Among the vessels employed in carrying on the trade, those which bore the Spanish flag were usually among the most powerful. And in 1830 a very brilliant action was fought by Captain Broughton of the 16-gun sloop *Primrose*, against a slaver, thoroughly Spanish in her own name, the *Veloze Passagera*, in that of her captain, Jose Antonio de la Vega, and in her destination, which was the Havannah. Not equally Spanish in her crew, which was composed of a hundred and fifty desperadoes of all nations. She had twenty guns, of heavier calibre than our own; and in her size and the number of her men she more than doubled the *Primrose*. Nevertheless, Captain Broughton, suspecting her character, claimed a right to search her, and, being by the rejection of that claim convinced of the justice of his suspicions, opened his fire upon her within pistolshot, and after a short cannonade ran alongside her and boarded

her. The superior numbers of the Spaniards only exposed them to the greater loss ; in the hand-to-hand conflict that ensued, while we lost three men killed and twelve wounded, they had twenty men wounded, and their slain amounted to forty-six. When they struck, as they did within ten minutes of the time when Captain Broughton sprang upon their decks, upwards of five hundred and fifty slaves were discovered, whom he had the happiness of restoring to their liberty. He was severely wounded himself, but soon recovered ; and he had the pleasure of finding that the gallant example which he had set was not thrown away upon the younger officers on the station.

Lieutenant Ramsay of the *Black Joke*, a small sloop armed only with one long pivot 68-pounder and one carronade, and manned by a crew of forty-four officers, men, and boys, sought an encounter with an enemy of similar superiority of force, and, as he deserved, met with a similar success. He had learnt that a vessel well known in the trade, of unusual speed, with five 18-pounder guns, and seventy-seven picked men, several of whom were either Englishmen or Americans, was in the old Calabar River, on the point of sailing with a large cargo of slaves for Cuba. From the same source he gathered that their captain was a man of desperate courage, resolved to fight to the death, and especially desirous of a meeting with his little vessel. But this intelligence was far from abating, if indeed it did not increase Ramsay's desire of proving his quality, and he immediately sailed with the *Black Joke* for the old Calabar River, blockading it by night, to prevent the Spaniard from escaping him in the darkness ; but by day standing off out of sight of the mouth of the river, that he might not deter the slaver from putting out to sea, where alone he could bring him to action. It was an anxious time ; but he had not spent many days in this watching, when, at daybreak on the 25th of April, his labours were rewarded by seeing the object of his anxiety coming down

the river under full sail, and evidently making for the open sea. He lowered his topsails that he might remain unperceived as long as possible : the manœuvre succeeded so well that the *Marinerito*, such was the slaver's name, had got clear of the river, and had advanced within a very few miles of the *Black Joke* before she saw her ; but the moment she did discover her, well knowing her character beforehand, she made all sail to escape, and Ramsay with equal zeal hoisted every stitch of canvas the sloop could carry to overtake her. But the *Marinerito* was by far the faster vessel, and was gaining rapidly on her pursuer, when suddenly the wind died away, and both vessels were forced to betake themselves to their sweeps, whether to continue the flight or the pursuit. Now that the race had changed its character the British sloop began to gain, her far smaller size giving her crew an advantage with their oars ; and after a long pull, on the morning of the 26th, she succeeded in getting within range of the flying Spaniard. It was of no great advantage to Ramsay at first that he had done so, since, out of consideration for the closely packed cargo of slaves whom she had on board, and who must necessarily be sacrificed by his shot, he would not use his guns, while the *Marinerito* poured a ceaseless and truly aimed fire upon him, cutting his rigging to pieces, though fortunately failing to injure his crew. He held on his way, resolved to bring the contest to an issue by boarding. As he neared the chase he bade his men lie down, that the bulwarks might shelter them from the slaver's guns ; he loaded his own guns to the muzzle with grape, selected two men of tried resolution to lash the vessels together the moment that they touched, and then, all his preparations being completed, he ran on board the chase, fired both his guns into her side, and, before the smoke had cleared away, sprang upon her decks at the head of his men. He had intended that nearly all should follow him, but from the violence



with which the two vessels came into collision, the *Black Joke* rebounded from her antagonist, and the next moment he found himself with only ten followers opposed to her whole crew. His situation would indeed have been critical, had it not been for the presence of mind of Mr. Hinds, a midshipman scarcely fifteen years old. He, as the only officer left on board, bade the men pull in again alongside the slaver, succeeded in lashing them together, and in a moment more followed his commander on board with every unwounded man in the ship. Such a spirit was contagious and irresistible. A desperate hand-to-hand conflict ensued; in which while we had one man killed and seven wounded, among whom was the Lieutenant himself, fifteen of the Spanish crew were slain, and several more in all probability wounded also. Even then the survivors far outnumbered the British crew, but they had lost heart, and, taking refuge below, begged for mercy.

Ramsay returned with his prize to Fernando Po, where he landed the unhappy wretches who constituted the slaver's cargo. They had originally numbered almost five hundred souls; but, as the hatchways had been fastened down at the commencement of the chase, above twenty were already dead, and three times that number were so ill as to be past recovery; the remainder the Lieutenant restored to liberty; and in the consciousness of the happiness which he had bestowed upon them found a reward which perhaps was even more acceptable to his heart than his promotion to the rank of Commander, which was immediately bestowed, and which had very seldom been better earned.

Exploits, however, such as these, however brilliant and full of glory to the performers, being but unconnected efforts; could do little towards the suppression of the general trade. And it gradually came to be seen that our exertions to be productive of any permanent effect; must

strike at the root; must be aimed at the destruction of the establishments on shore, in which the slaves who had been collected for exportation were confined till opportunities of sending them across the Atlantic were procured. The officer to whom the credit is due of having been the first to see this, was Commander the Honorable J. Denman, who, in the *Wanderer* sloop, was in 1840 the senior officer on the West African station. His perceptions were not stimulated by any recent increase of the trade, for it had never been in a more distressed state. So great had been his own vigilance, and that of the cruisers under his command, that during the whole of the preceding year scarcely five hundred slaves had been exported from the part of the coast he was watching, fifteen slave-vessels had been captured without any cargo on board, and many more had been driven off, and prevented from landing. But he knew that at Gallinas the slave-dealers had large buildings full of slaves; from which, according to a report recently transmitted to England by the Governor of Sierra Leone, fifteen thousand slaves had been sent to the West Indies in a single year. The chiefs who sold them derived from this source a revenue which was estimated at two hundred thousand pounds a year; and, as the dispensers of this large sum, the slave-dealers had acquired sufficient power over the chiefs to induce them to treat our vessels on the coast with constant unfriendliness and frequent insult. On one occasion an attempt was even made to capture Commander Denman himself when rowing up the river. But, though resolute in stopping slavers at sea, we were at first without a plea for attacking the establishments on land, till, in the autumn of 1840, information was laid before the Governor of Sierra Leone, that the son of Siacca, the chief potentate at the mouth of the Gallinas river, was detaining in slavery two British subjects. The Governor applied to Commander Denman; and he resolved to claim not only the release of the two sufferers, but also redress

for the frequent insults which he and his squadron had received from King Siacca's own subjects, and their instigators the Spanish slave-dealers. He conducted the negotiation himself, and so worked upon the fears of King Siacca, or rather of Prince Manua his heir, who acted for him in this matter, that, on the 21st of November, he signed a treaty, by which he agreed to destroy all the slave-dealing establishments in his dominions; to give up all the slaves whom they then contained; to prohibit the erection of such establishments in future; and to banish the slave-dealers. The treaty was carried out the very next day. The obnoxious buildings were all fortified with heavy guns, and the slave-dealers had been prepared to defend their buildings from any attack which we might make; but their power to influence Siacca and Manna was gone for the time, and under the orders and the superintendence of the British Commander the factories were now all set on fire. Seven large buildings were burnt to the ground: the handcuffs, fetters, and shackles, with which the miserable prisoners had been chained, and all the boats that had been employed to convey them on board the slave-ships, were delivered to Denman, and at the same time above nine hundred slaves were sent on board the *Wanderer*, and conveyed to Sierra Leone to be restored to liberty.

A great blow had been struck, and a valuable precedent had been established. It was, however, hardly to be expected that princes so ignorant, so feeble, and so covetous, as those of the Guinea coast, would adhere to their agreement with us after the impression produced by the Commander's threats, and his evident readiness to enforce them, had passed away. And after the lapse of a few years the slave-magazines, barracoons, as they were usually called, were rebuilt at Gallinas, and were again filled with slaves, though never probably in the same number as before his visit. But the treaty had so far strengthened our hands that we were now entitled to insist on

their destruction, and, when the native chiefs refused to co-operate with us, to take the task upon ourselves. Acting on this ground, Commander A. Murray, in the *Favourite*, destroyed one large establishment at Cape Mount, a few miles to the south of Gallinas, in 1847. And two years afterwards, the same officer, then under the command of Sir Charles Hotham, as Commodore of the station, destroyed those which had been reconstructed at Gallinas itself, and released the slaves who were confined in them, who, however, were in numbers very inferior to those who had been delivered by Commander Denman.

These repeated blows could not fail to produce a considerable effect; but still the constant recurrence of the necessity for such operations proved that the lessons as yet given were not sufficiently forcible, and that it would be requisite to make an example of some conspicuous slave-dealing chief before we could hope to bring his fellows to submission to our views. And in 1851 an opportunity for such a course was presented by the internal dissensions which broke out in the family of the chief of Lagos. Akitoye, the legitimate ruler of this district, had been lately expelled by his kinsman, Kosoko, who was deeply engaged in the slave-trade, and who protected and fostered a gang of Portuguese and Brazilian slave-dealers. Akitoye entered into communication with our Captains, and promised that, if we would restore him to his dominions, he would expel the slave-dealers, and abolish the trade. Commodore Henry Bruce, a veteran of Trafalgar, was at that time the commander of our squadron on the station, and he at once closed with Akitoye's offer, and determined to expel Kosoko by force of arms. His flagship, the *Penelope*, a paddle-steamer of sixteen guns, drew too much water to enter the narrow shallow creek on which Lagos is situated; and he therefore entrusted the execution of the enterprise to Captain L. Jones of the *Sampson*, and to Captain Lyster of his own ship. They moved into the

screw steam-tenders, Bloodhound and Teazer, and with them and the boats of the Penelope and Sampson, to which those of the Volcano under Commander Cooté, and of the Waterwitch under Commander Alan Gardner, were subsequently added, Captain Jones, on Thursday the 26th of December, 1851, stood in to carry out the Commodore's order. Lagos is a place of great importance as far as the slave trade is concerned, from its peculiar situation, since it commands the principal outlet of a chain of lagoons which extend along the whole of the Bight of Benin, and are only separated from the sea by a thin strip or spit of land. The town itself is built on a low narrow island, about two miles in length, and lying nearly north and south at the entrance of the largest lagoon, which at that point is little more than a mile wide; and is blocked up across the greater part of its width by a large sandbank; and it was fortified along the whole of its western or sea-front with an embankment, a ditch, and well-placed stockades, armed with heavy guns. The water was so shallow that there were not many places on that side where boats could land; and, in anticipation of our attack, all such points had been rendered inaccessible by a double row of stout stakes which had been fixed at a short distance from the shore in six feet of water. To attack such defences in front with success was nearly impossible; and accordingly, the suggestion of Captain Lyster was adopted that the squadron should pass round the northern point of the island, where Kosoko had his palace, and where also were the principal establishments of the slave-dealers; but where the fortifications were expected to be weaker, since the natives had evidently no expectation of an attack on that side. As our vessels passed in front of the island, they were assailed by a heavy cannonade and musketry, which they returned with their great guns; but the fire on both sides were nearly ineffectual: our boats were moving too rapidly to be easily hit; and, though our gunners dis-

played great accuracy in their aim, the stockades were made of wood too green to sustain much injury. The Bloodhound led the way with the Sampson's boats, the Teazer following with those of the Penelope. As our men advanced, it was found that the work to be done must be left to the boats alone; for the Teazer had hardly weighed before she took the ground, and the Bloodhound, which, had she seen her consort's misfortune, would have lain to to support her, in trying to round the northern point also grounded, and, on sounding ahead, found the water on the inside too shallow to allow a possibility of her advancing further. At ten in the morning, therefore, Captain Jones sent forward Lieutenant T. Saumarez, with the three largest boats of his division, to pass round the point and ascertain the strength of the defences on the landward side of the island. A strong stockaded battery of four guns at once opened upon him; he with his howitzers returned its fire so vigorously that he dismounted one of its guns, and then was recalled by his Captain, who wished to reserve his strength till the Teazer should join him, when the whole power of the squadron was to be exerted in one combined attack. Unfortunately, he was subsequently provoked into departing from this plan; and he sent the Lieutenant in again, with all the boats, to attempt a landing at a spot where a number of gingalls and other light guns were keeping up a galling fire. Saumarez, in spite of the most intrepid resolution, and the most persevering exertions, was beaten back with considerable loss: one of his midshipmen, Mr. Richards, was killed, and he himself, with many more of his men, severely wounded. Meanwhile the Bloodhound herself which, though aground, was in a favourable position for attacking some of the principal batteries, had kept up a heavy fire of round-shot, shells, and shrapnel from her long 18-pounder and her 12-pound howitzer, and had silenced several of the enemy's guns.

The Teazer had had a harder conflict. She was more heavily armed than the Bloodhound, having three long 32-pounders; and, like her, was lying in a position which enabled her to reply with vigour to the enemy's permanent batteries; but they presently moved round two guns to rake her, and with them damaged her so severely that Captain Lyster perceived that he must either abandon the ship or land and capture the guns. As became a British officer, he decided on the bolder course: but it was so desperate an enterprise that he resolved to lead it himself; and with all his boats formed in line abreast, and keeping up a steady fire of grape and canister as they advanced, pulled in straight towards this new battery, in front of which the shelving shore promised to afford the easiest landing-place. He reached it; but the enemy at this point, who were concealed among the trees and brush-wood, were far more numerous than he had suspected; for, as the boats touched the land, at least fifteen hundred muskets opened upon him. Undauntedly, however, he formed his men, and charged the battery; and Lieutenant Corbet, who commanded one of the largest boats, leading his boat's crew directly upon them, though he received a shot through the arm as he advanced, drove the enemy off, and spiked the guns with his own hands.

It had been a most gallant and important exploit; but harder work was still to come: for, when Captain Lyster returned to the beach, he found that the enemy, coming down upon the boats while they were thus stripped of their men, had captured one of the largest, and were carrying her off; while the kroomen in charge of Corbet's boat, which was of especial importance, as having on board a battery of heavy rockets, had let go her anchor, with a chain-cable clenched to the bottom, so that it could not be unshackled. It seemed as if that boat must be lost too; and, what was almost equally disheartening, her commander was not to be seen. For a moment it was supposed that

he must have fallen ; but suddenly he reappeared. The moment that he saw the difficulty he had sprung over the side of the boat ; and, though his right arm was already injured, and, though the enemy were still pouring on him a tremendous musketry-fire from pistolshot distance, which wounded him in four more places, he never flinched from the task he had undertaken till he had cut through the cable with a chisel, and released the boat. Beyond blowing up the boat which the enemy had captured, nothing more could be done against them that day. Captain Lyster was severely wounded, as was also his second in command, Commander Hillyar, of the *Penelope*, and a great portion of the rest of the crews ; and he therefore thought it best to confine his efforts for the remainder of the day to getting the *Teazer* off her shoal, that he might be ready to join the *Bloodhound* the next morning. On the 27th no necessity arose for sending in landing-parties ; but the two ships with the heaviest of the boats poured in a continued stream of fire on the island, disabling guns, blowing up magazines, and setting the greater part of the town on fire. So decisive was the advantage that was thus gained before the evening, that Captain Jones now summoned Kosoko to surrender ; resolving, should he still hold out, to renew the attack on Monday morning. But during the whole of Sunday, he saw canoes laden with property leaving the island, and in the afternoon he found that Kosoko himself with all his followers, to the number of two thousand, had fled ; and therefore he the same evening conducted Akitoye to the island, and replaced him in his sovereignty. Our loss had been very heavy : seventeen had been killed, and between seventy and eighty wounded ; but the Commodore felt that he had inflicted the heaviest blow that had yet been dealt upon the slave-trade, and that for such an object even that loss had been well incurred. A couple of years afterwards Akitoye died, and was succeeded by his nephew,



Docemo, a man of feeble health, and still weaker character ; and more than once in subsequent years Kosoko made a show of preparation to retake the dominions from which he had been expelled ; but was deterred by the presence of our vessels. And in 1857 Commodore Wise, at that time the chief officer on the station, left his tender, the *Brune*, in front of Lagos as a permanent guard, taking occasion at the same time to fire off her large shells and congreve rockets, ostensibly with a view of gratifying Docemo with the exhibition, but with a still greater desire that the news of her power should reach Kosoko, and deter him from provoking her to exert her strength in earnest. More recently Docemo has ceded the town to us ; and, as it is therefore now a British settlement, the constant presence of our garrison in the very centre of the slave-trading district, will gradually, we may hope, enable us to continue our operations for the extinction of the trade with increasing effect.

At first, however, it almost seemed that our success, great as it had been, had, while weakening the traffic by this vital wound in the centre, extended the area of its operations, and, so far, increased the misery which it caused. At all events Commodore Wise, who, as has been just mentioned, a few years afterwards succeeded to the chief command on the station, found it spread over districts where its existence had not previously been suspected. In the south large slave-dealing factories had been formed by New York merchants ; and in the north, above our own settlement at Sierra Leone, a fierce tribe called the Soosoos, whose chiefs were well inclined to encourage similar establishments, had expelled the gentler Timmanees ; and, should they be able to maintain the occupation of their territory, were evidently likely to give the trade an impulse such as it never before received from any single transaction.

Commodore Wise first arrived on the coast in the *Vesuvius*, in the summer of 1857, and, having a numerous

squadron of twelve steam-vessels under his command, carried on his operations with great energy, distributing his force in two divisions; placing the northern squadron under Commander Hickley of the Childers, and with one or other blockading the whole coast from the Congo to our own settlement at Sierra Leone. He made numerous captures; but in many instances where he seized vessels, of whose real character as slavers no doubt could be entertained, he was embarrassed by their use of the American flag, and by the production of regularly signed papers, the genuineness of which, however he might suspect it, he had no means of testing, while the captains of the United States frigates in the neighbourhood were so eager to insist on the right of their flag to protect all who sailed under it from search, that they were very rarely disposed to aid him, even in cases where the real character of the vessels which he detained was most undeniable. The French shared this feeling; M. Protet, in 1859 the Commadore of their squadron on the African coast, gallant, and friendly to Britain as he afterwards proved himself, when he met a glorious death by the side of a British Admiral in the Chinese waters, denying our right to visit a vessel bearing their flag under any pretence whatever. In the South, therefore, Wise could only harass the trade; but in the North he felt that he could prevent it from spreading, and accordingly he resolved on an expedition to dispossess the Soosos of the territory which they had acquired, and to replace the Timmanees. Colonel Hill, the Governor of Sierra Leone, which these savages had threatened to make the object of their next attack, willingly concurred, and accompanied him. And on the 29th of January, 1858, the Commadore entered the Great Scarcies River, with the Pluto, Lieutenant W. Swinburne, the Spitfire, Lieutenant Chapman, the boats of the Vesuvius, and one or two other vessels. The tide, it was known, would

take them as far as Kambia, about fifty miles up the river ; and Mr. P. Going, Master of the Childers, working up the stream in her gig, explored the channel with great diligence and conducted the whole squadron as far as Robarts, a village about halfway between the mouth of the river and Kambia. There, however, large rocks prevented the further passage of the larger vessels, and the Commodore resolved to leave them there at anchor and to proceed in the boats. They were thirteen in number, each armed with a gun or rocket-tube ; and their crews amounted to two hundred and eight sailors and fifty marines, armed with rifles. With this handful of men he plunged boldly into an unknown country, occupied by thousands of merciless enemies, to whom the jungle, and swamps overgrown with mangrove which fringed both sides of the river, afforded incessant opportunities for concealed attacks.

Before he proceeded to acts of open warfare he sent forward Lieutenant Swinburne with a flag of truce, to invite the Soosoo chiefs to a conference ; but the Lieutenant could only obtain evasive answers, the Soosos evidently seeking delay in order to procure time to bring up their forces from the more inland towns. On receiving his report therefore the Commodore at once pushed on, his boldness apparently intimidating the chiefs from attacking him ; and on the first of February he reached Kambia, the furthest point to which he proposed to advance, and, instantly forming his boats into a line abreast, opened fire upon the stockades, which were its principal fortifications. In half an hour he routed the enemy, and set the town on fire ; the Timmanees, who were encamped at a short distance, co-operating with him and re-entering the town as soon as the Soosos were driven out. He now retraced his steps, and in a similar manner and with a similar result he attacked all the rest of the towns between Kambia and the mouth of the river ; destroying the defences of all,

and in the case of the most obnoxious, the towns themselves. The utter inability of the natives to contend with us being sufficiently shown by the fact that in the whole expedition he had no further loss than that of one man severely, and nine slightly wounded.

The next year he was forced to repeat the lesson he had thus given. After he retired from the river the Soosoos had found no difficulty in again expelling the Timmanees and resuming the possession of Kambia; and, in March, 1859, he again ascended the great Scarcies with a larger force of boats, to which Colonel Hill, who again accompanied him, on this occasion added two hundred men of a West African regiment. They found Kambia greatly strengthened since their visit in the preceding year: a mud wall eleven feet high, and loopholed for musketry throughout its whole extent, had been built around it; and the garrison was apparently more numerous than it had been in 1858. But their skill in fighting had not improved. In a very short time the Commodore succeeded in breaching the wall, and setting the town on fire in several places: the Timmanees again co-operated with us by attacking the enemy on the landward side, and the only losses that were sustained fell upon their ranks, in which three men were killed and four wounded. After destroying one or two more towns on each side of the river, the expedition returned; and this second defeat appears to have broken the spirit of the Soosoos, who have since that time respected the alliance of the Timmanees with a Power that could strike such heavy and frequent blows, and have left them in undisturbed possession of their ancient territory.\* At the end of two years, ill health forced

\* Among the objects to which Commodore Wise was instructed to direct his attention was the fitness of the western coast of Africa for the growth of cotton; and he furnished the authorities at home with two valuable reports on the subject, embracing the whole district from Sierra Leone to the Congo. Such a subject is not, properly speaking, one of the topics of a naval history; but it is one of such interest at the present moment, that the author has obtained

Commodore Wise to relinquish his command, and he was succeeded in it by Commodore Edmonstone.

In all probability the preparations which Kosoko was continually parading to recover the sovereignty of Lagos encouraged the insolence of the neighbouring chiefs; for, shortly before Captain Wise left the station, he received frequent complaints of the ill-treatment to which our merchants were exposed by the king of Porto Novo, who had stopped the trade. Wise was forced to bequeath the task of chastising him to his successor. The complaints which had been made to him were repeated with increased earnestness to Captain Edmonstone, since every day that our hand was stayed only increased the haughtiness of the savage prince. Remonstrances were soon found to be perfectly ineffectual; and, at the beginning of 1861, Edmonstone resolved to show him that he was no longer inclined to confine himself to words and threats. He resolved to make himself master of the place. And, on the 23rd of April, proceeded to force his way up Badagry Creek, to attack his capital. His force consisted of the *Brune*, tender, the *Bloodhound*, Commander Bennett, and the hired steamer *Fidelity*, under his own First-lieutenant, Mr. Cay; and he led them himself in his gig. The *Bloodhound* grounded and could not be got off, but he proceeded without her; and, having destroyed a barrier of stakes, with which the savages had fenced the channel, on the 26th at daybreak he came in front of Porto Novo: where, though he had expected to meet with a resolute opposition, he found that he had greatly miscalculated the force of his enemy. Ten thousand men, well-armed with muskets and minié-rifles, were drawn up in a position commanding the shore, and flanked by heavy batteries, which, the moment that our men came in sight, opened a heavy fire upon them. Their bullets, however, for the most

---

Captain Wise's permission to publish his reports, and they will be found in the Appendix No. I.

part fell short ; and we replied with a storm of rockets, grape, canister, and shell, which made fearful havoc in the densely packed ranks, and at the same time set a great part of the town on fire. Soon the king's palace was seen to be in a blaze : but still the savages held their ground, standing so firmly that Edmonstone was forced to send his boats close in to the shore to dislodge them, before he could venture to land. Commander Raby, of the *Alecto*, cheerfully undertook the task, and dashing on to within a few yards of the bank, so that he seemed to those in the ships to be almost in the midst of the enemy, he at last put them to flight. In a few minutes our men were able to land, and there was no longer an enemy to be seen. Full five hundred corpses lay on the ground, while our loss did not exceed a single man killed and six wounded. The King now gladly submitted to all our demands. He re-established the trade, and consented to allow a British Consul to reside at his capital when it should be rebuilt, and to maintain a guard for his protection. And so great was the consternation created in the minds of the neighbouring princes by the completeness of our victory, that Kosoko himself addressed messages of congratulation to our consul at Lagos, and solicited our friendship and alliance for the future.

But the slave-trade is far from being confined to the western coast of Africa. On the south-eastern coast, to the north of our own settlement of Natal, it till lately prevailed to an almost equal extent ; being carried on partly by the Arabs, who have at all times preferred piratical expeditions to regular commerce, and partly by the French, who were in the habit of purchasing yearly many thousand natives of the districts opposite to Madagascar, to keep up the supply of slaves which were required by their colonists in the Isle of Bourbon. They shrank, indeed, from using the name of slave, and sought to give a colour to their malpractices by affirming that the unhappy beings whom they pur-

chased or carried off were free labourers, hired with their own consent; *engagés*, to use their own term; but it was notorious to our officers that they were bought and paid for with as much regularity as on the coast of Guinea; and that the native chiefs on the coast derived a handsome revenue from signing false vouchers, which alleged their countrymen, who formed the cargoes of the different French vessels, to have been lawfully hired, and to have gone willingly to their destination. We had always kept a vessel on the coast; and had probably a strong suspicion of the real character of the transactions of these French kidnappers; but, perplexed by the difficulties of the case, we had taken no very active steps to lessen the evil, till, in the winter of 1857, Commander R. Oldfield was sent to the Mozambique Channel, in the *Lyra*, which he afterwards exchanged for the *Ariel*; and he, pursuing the object of his suspicion with great energy and shrewdness, laid before his superiors such proofs of the real nature of the trade, that they were enabled to set the matter in an equally clear light before the French Emperor, and, after some discussion, prevailed on him to prohibit a continuance of the practice. The evil had been rapidly increasing of late years: the price paid for slaves varied; sometimes it was as high as a hundred dollars, sometimes, and in some districts, it did not exceed two or two and a half; and even part of that was paid in goods, such as fire-arms or ammunition; but even the highest price was so far below the value of the labour procured for their fertile colony, that the inhabitants of Bourbon were straining every nerve to extend the traffic. So greatly had they of late succeeded in this object, that the supply, which had formerly averaged five thousand persons, had gradually trebled. In the year 1858, according to Captain Oldfield, they actually bought and exported fifteen thousand; and encouraged by this success, they were earnestly negotiating for permission to establish fresh agencies in hitherto untried

districts when the humane wisdom of the Emperor put an end to the nefarious traffic, of the true character of which he professed to have been, and very probably had been in ignorance, till it was revealed to him by our Ministers.

Against the French, Captain Oldfield, of course, had no authority to proceed to acts of hostility. But no restrictions fettered his dealings with the Arabs, who were both more shameless and more cruel. The chief mart for the slaves whom they collected they found at the great island of Madagascar, and, on the continent, in the towns of the Simali district, at the entrance to the Red Sea, or in those which lie around the Persian Gulf. Their vessels, dhows as they are called, being thus meant for a coasting trade, are rarely trusted on voyages across the open sea; but on the waters for which they are calculated they are formidable, for their strength as well as for their speed. For their crews are numerous: they are armed with two and sometimes four long guns; though generally of from 100 to 150 tons burthen, they draw scarcely more water than our largest ships' boats; and being narrow in the beam, and carrying a mainsail of great size, they can, when running before the wind, outstrip any European vessel. These Captain Oldfield pursued, attacked and captured wherever he met with them. It was not often that they resisted: in fact, the power of keeping close to the shore, which the build of their vessels gave them, removed one great motive for resistance, since they could always secure their personal safety by deserting their vessels and swimming to land: but sometimes despair lent them courage, and the circumstances of the capture of one of the most recent of the *Ariel's* prizes, show that when they resolve to defend their cargoes, it requires both seamanship and valour to master them. Lieutenant Fairfax of the *Ariel*, in a boat with a crew of eight men and a marine, was lying in a small bay near Murka, when he



observed an Arab vessel, whose rig and movements, coupled with the excitement which her presence produced among the natives on the coast, left little doubt of her character and objects, running into land. He at once stood towards her with the intention of visiting her; when she, despising an adversary so little formidable in appearance, instead of avoiding an encounter, bore down upon him, firing two guns, and then steered at the boat with the evident intention of running her down. This purpose, however, Lieutenant Fairfax easily baffled, and then grappling with the dhow, boarded her with nearly all his crew, and after a desperate struggle, such as might be expected when eight men attacked four times their number, he overpowered his antagonists, and captured the vessel. Ten of the Arabs had fallen; their comrades, about twenty men, sprang overboard and escaped. But, though we made no prisoners we found on board four-and-thirty slaves, of whom ten were women. These Lieutenant Fairfax restored to liberty, and then rejoined the Ariel to procure attention to his wounded men, of whom he had three; one being severely injured by a shot in the back: for most of the Arabs had muskets as well as daggers, and kept up a rapid fire on our men for the few minutes that the contest lasted.

In the course of the three years during which Captain Oldfield was stationed on the coast, he and his officers captured nearly seventy such vessels, and restored to liberty nearly one thousand slaves. But he had no expectation of producing any permanent diminution of the trade as carried on by the Arabs, since most of the native Princes were favourable to it as a source of revenue attended with less trouble than the cultivation of their land; and since even those who, like the Sultan of Zanzibar, had sufficient discernment to perceive the advantage which they might derive from training their subjects to habits of industry instead of taking bribes for allowing them to be kidnapped, stood in too great awe of the Arabs to be likely to exert

themselves to effect any such reforms. Of late the Portuguese have been extending their settlements along the Mozambique Channel, and some of their Governors have shown a resolution to check the trade within the limits of their respective governments. But circumstances such as these lead rather to the transfer of the trade to other districts than to its suppression. Till the employment of slaves at Madagascar and along the whole north-eastern coast is put an end to, it is perhaps, hopeless to think that it can be wholly destroyed by measures of coercion, however successful for the moment. And for its extinction, if it ever is to be extinguished, we must look to the gradual enlightenment and civilisation of the rulers of the different coast tribes, even more than to the exertions of our own officers, however great may be their skill and energy, and however unvaried their success in each separate enterprise.

## CHAPTER XLII.

1821—1841.

General condition of Turkey—Insurrection in Greece—Cruelties of Ibrahim Pasha—Convention between England, France, and Russia—The allied fleets arrive at Navarino—Destruction of the Turkish fleet—Encroachments of Mehemet Ali—War between him and the Sultan—Turkey saved by Russia—Mehemet seizes on Syria—A British fleet sent to Syria to aid the Sultan—Commodore Napier at Beyrout—Reduction of all the places on the coast—Sir R. Stopford bombards Acre—Candia submits to the Sultan—Napier at Alexandria—Mehemet Ali submits—Peace.

OUR last few chapters have been occupied with the actions of our navy in the other quarters of the globe, in Asia, Africa, and America, because the almost unvaried triumphs which we had achieved in Europe by land and sea in the great war against Revolutionary France, bore as their happy fruit the establishment of a peace of unexampled duration among the nations of Christendom. A peace which had Christendom and Europe been co-extensive terms, might not improbably have remained undisturbed to the present hour. But, though Turkey resembles France and Spain, in that it is an European Power, with territories washed, as theirs are washed, on one side by the great Mediterranean Sea, it differs from them in that it professes a false religion, which communicates its weakness and corruption to the Government, indeed to the whole nation; and that weakness, coupled as it is with the possession of fair and fertile provinces, and still more of an extensive sea-coast, and harbours alike fitted for purposes of war and commerce, has naturally invited unscrupulous spoilers from all quarters. Its earliest danger

of the kind came from the Sultan's own subjects; from provinces rising in rebellion, or ambitious pachas seeking to erect their governments into independent kingdoms. Its latest from its still more ambitious neighbour, Russia, which for above three-quarters of a century had never ceased its endeavours, by open war or by secret intrigue, to aggrandise itself at the expense of Turkey. The hostilities in which the Sultan thus became involved almost inevitably drew us into their vortex; since we have uniformly professed to look upon that sovereign as one of our most ancient allies, and upon the preservation of his authority as indispensable to the maintenance of the due balance of power in Europe. Even when, in 1807, the superior address of the French ambassador caused a momentary rupture between us, we never lost sight of that object; but, as has been already mentioned, began to reconcile ourselves to the Porte with as little delay as circumstances admitted; and, at the Congress of Vienna, we showed the sincerity of our good will by a careful protection of the most important interests, and most vulnerable points of Turkey. Yet, in spite of these feelings, in the first instance after the re-establishment of peace, in which a British fleet put forth its power in connection with the affairs of Turkey, it did so with an object which excited more anger at Constantinople than our passage of the Dardanelles twenty years before; which the Sultan considered in the highest degree injurious to his interests; and which indeed would have been so if it could be for the interest of any potentate utterly to disregard the dictates of humanity, to tarnish his name by remorseless, pitiless, ceaseless cruelty, or to reign over a desert which he has himself depopulated.

In the year 1821 the Greeks had risen in insurrection against the Government of the Porte; they had proclaimed their independence, and had waged a civil war against their former sovereign with varied success, but with

unyielding courage; while his commanders had sullied the valour and military skill which they displayed, and the victories which they had gained, by a ferocity of which, since the days of Pappenheim and Magdeburg, modern history affords no other example. Among the most successful and most savage of the Turkish generals was Ibrahim Pasha, the son of the celebrated Viceroy of Egypt, Mehemet Ali. He, at the beginning of the year 1827, was holding the Morea with a force to which the insurgents could make no adequate resistance, and was only waiting for reinforcements to complete the extermination of the rebels against his master's authority throughout southern Greece. But already all Europe had been roused to indignation by the intelligence of his massacres, and in July, England, France, and Russia concluded a treaty by which they agreed to compel the Sultan to surrender all but the nominal sovereignty of Greece, on condition of receiving a fixed annual tribute from that country of an amount equal to the revenue which had usually been collected from it. There could be but little doubt that the Sultan would refuse to acknowledge the right of those Powers to interfere in such a cause in such a manner; and, therefore, to enforce his submission, a combined fleet, composed of squadrons furnished by each of the contracting Powers, under the command of one of Nelson's veterans, Sir Edward Codrington, with the French and Russian Admirals, M. de Rigny and M. Heiden, as his colleagues, was sent in September to Navarino, the chief harbour on the western side of the Morea, in which was still lying a Turkish fleet, which two months before had brought to Ibrahim his long-expected reinforcement. He had made rapid use of it; and, as if in studied defiance of the powers who had entered into the obnoxious treaty, was carrying on the war more mercilessly than ever, when Codrington arrived with the English and French squadrons, (the Russian contingent did not join till above a fortnight

later), and in a personal conference with him announced the resolution which had been taken to permit no continuance of his devastations and massacres. And Ibrahim was apparently so far awed by the firm tone of the British Admiral that he agreed to suspend all further attacks on the Greeks till he could communicate with the Grand Vizier at Constantinople.

Apparently there was some ambiguity in the terms in which this agreement, which was not reduced to writing, was framed ; since Ibrahim conceived that it left him at liberty to detach a squadron to act against the Greek fleet in the Gulf of Patras, which Sir Edward Codrington, who had retired to Zante, refused to permit to pass, and on which, when words had no effect, he opened his fire to compel its return to port. Twice Ibrahim endeavoured to elude his vigilance ; and, when he found that impossible, for Codrington had left the Dartmouth frigate to watch the Turkish fleet, and Captain Fellowes kept him constantly informed of every movement made by it, his rage broke through all bounds, he cast the agreement he had made with the British Admiral to the winds, and recommenced his devastation of the surrounding districts with greater ferocity than ever. The news of his conduct speedily reached Codrington, who, in the middle of October, sent Captain Hamilton in the Cambrian to obtain more precise information. Hamilton's report confirmed to the utmost the account which the Admiral had already received. As he approached the shore he had seen the whole air filled with clouds of fire and smoke proceeding from the towns and villages, which Ibrahim's troops were burning in every direction. When he landed, sights still more shocking met his eyes : scarcely a man was to be seen alive ; all whom the soldiers could overtake had been sabred, speared, or blown from the cannon's mouth ; and the women, who, had they had strength, would have sought a refuge in the mountains, were falling as they fled, and dying of famine,

having for days been hardly able to obtain any better food than boiled grass. It was estimated, according to the report which on the 18th Captain Hamilton made to his Admiral, that, if Ibrahim should remain in Greece, "more than a third of its inhabitants would perish of absolute starvation." Such a confirmation of the worst rumours which he had previously received, in Codrington's judgment left him no alternative. His colleagues (M. Heiden had arrived with his squadron in the preceding week) agreed with him that to suffer the continuance of such atrocities, while it was in their power to prevent them, would almost be to become partners in the guilt; and on the 20th of October the combined fleet\* entered the harbour of Na-

\* The following is a list of the three squadrons:—

#### ENGLISH.

84	Asia . . . . .	{ Vice-Admiral Sir E. Codrington. Captain E. Curzon. Com. R. L. Baynes.
74	{ Genoa . . . . . Albion . . . . .	{ Captain Bathurst. Captain Ommanney.
50	Glasgow . . . . .	Captain Hon. J. A. Maude.
48	Cambrian . . . . .	Captain G. W. Hamilton.
42	Dartmouth . . . . .	Captain J. Fellowes.
28	Talbot . . . . .	Captain Hon. F. Spencer.

With four sloops.

#### FRENCH.

60	Sirène . . . . .	Rear-Admiral de Rigny.
74	{ Scipion . . . . . Tridente . . . . . Breslau . . . . .	{ Captain Milius. Captain Maurice. Captain de la Bretonnière.
44	Armide . . . . .	Captain Hugon.

And two schooners.

#### RUSSIAN.

74	{ Azof . . . . . Gargonte . . . . . Ezekiel . . . . . Alexandre Newsky . . . . .	{ Rear-Admiral Heiden.   Names of Captains unknown.
50	Constantine . . . . .	
48	{ Proveskey . . . . . Elena . . . . . Castor . . . . .	{   }

The

varino, anchored in front of the Turkish fleet, and Sir Edward proceeded to open a fresh communication with the Turkish commanders. Ibrahim himself was absent; and the chief officers were Capitan Bey, the Admiral of the Turkish, and Moharem Bey, the Admiral of the Egyptian squadron. And to them the British Admiral sent the pilot of the fleet, Mr. Mitchell, with a letter expressive of his hope that he might be saved from the necessity of using force to compel compliance with the demands which he had been instructed to make. As Mr. Mitchell approached the flagship of Moharem Bey his boat was fired at, and he himself was killed; but even before that lawless act had been committed the battle had begun in other quarters. In the service of the Sultan at this time was a French naval officer of the name of Le Tellier; and by his advice the Turkish fleet had been moored in a double, and in some parts in a triple line, in the form of a crescent, so that the broadsides of all the ships should converge towards the centre; and at the entrance of the harbour lay six fireships. To the position taken up by these last-mentioned vessels the commencement of the battle was owing. Wishing to obviate the jealousies likely to arise between the different nations, Sir Edward Codrington had formed the combined fleet into two columns; the British and French ships composing the weather-line, and the Russians having the lee-line to themselves. His own flagship, the *Asia*, had led into the harbour, and had anchored alongside of that which bore the flag of the Capitan Bey, with Moharem Bey's ship equally near on his larboard side. The *Genoa* and *Albion* came next; then followed the French and Russian ships of the line; the Russian frigates followed their own larger ships; the

---

The Turkish fleet consisted of three line-of-battle ships, of 84 and 76 guns, of four Egyptian double-banked frigates, each carrying 64 guns; fifteen Turkish 48-gun frigates; twenty-six corvettes of from 18 to 24 guns; twelve sloops of something under 20 guns each, and several fireships.



single French frigate and the British *Cambrian*, *Glasgow*, and *Talbot*, all had places assigned to them in the line; the *Dartmouth* and the sloops were instructed to look after the fireships. These lying, as has been already stated, at the entrance of the harbour, prevented the *Dartmouth* from taking up the station she desired; and Captain Fellowes sent a boat to the nearest of them to request that she would move further in. The officers of both fleets had been strictly enjoined on no account to be the first to commence hostilities; but unfortunately the captain of the fireship conceived that the *Dartmouth's* boat was sent to board her, his marines fired upon her, killed Lieutenant Fitzroy, who was in command of her, and one or two of his crew. The *Dartmouth*, to avenge their loss and protect the survivors, replied with her musketry; the French flagship, *La Sirène*, joined her. After a few minutes the musketry was succeeded by a cannonade; other ships followed their example, and the battle spread rapidly over the whole line: whether the flagship of the Capitan Bey first attacked the *Asia*, or whether the *Asia* first opened fire on her, it is impossible to say, but the two vessels were soon hotly engaged; the ship of Moharem Bey, though at first that commander had sent Codrington a message to say that he should not fire at all, presently joined in the conflict; and the battle became general. It was soon seen that the Turks were utterly overmatched. In the mere number of guns, indeed, they were superior, but the larger half of their vessels were corvettes or sloops; and, though they also outnumbered the allies in frigates, of line-of-battle ships they had but three, and even they were by far less substantially built than those of the combined fleet. Yet, in spite of these disadvantages, the Turks fought with great courage. The two flagships which were the first to feel the *Asia's* fire were soon almost destroyed by it, but the ships in the second and third line were not daunted by the fate of

their chiefs, and, as they fell out of their place, opened a raking fire on our Admiral, which carried away his mizen-mast, disabled many of his guns, and made great slaughter among his crew. *La Sirène* was in still greater danger; several of the fireships bore down upon her, and would in all probability have succeeded in grappling her, had not Captain Fellowes sent the boats of the *Dartmouth* to tow them away.

Nor was this the only instance in which our men saved their French allies from destruction. Captain Hugon, of the *Armide*, in taking his appointed post alongside one of the largest of the Turkish frigates, had exposed himself also to the guns of a powerful battery on shore, and at the same time to a raking fire from two of the largest corvettes; and he was in evident danger of being overpowered by them, when Captain Davis brought the 18-gun sloop *Rose* to his assistance, and, anchoring within pistol-shot of the corvettes, effectually drew off their fire from the gallant Frenchman, who, when thus relieved, had no difficulty in disabling his original foe, and in also silencing the battery. And the *Dartmouth* and *Rose* afterwards saved the *Scipion* from fireships, as Captain Fellowes had previously saved the *Sirène*. Within an hour of the commencement of the action, several of the Turkish vessels took fire, and presently blew up: and from time to time, as the action proceeded, others were seen to be in a similar condition, often from the voluntary action of their own crews, who, when they found themselves unable to continue their resistance, preferred burning them to letting them become prizes to the allies, and themselves escaped to the shore in their boats.

The first guns had been fired at about two o'clock, and by five the battle ceased. The precise extent of the injury which had been inflicted on the Turks was never ascertained; but it was beyond a doubt that two-thirds of their fleet had been destroyed, (none were carried off as prizes),

and that their loss of life had also been most severe. The English ships of the line had all sustained so much damage that the Admiral was forced to send them to England; but the number of our killed and wounded, considering that every one of our ships had been actively engaged, was less considerable than might have been expected: seventy-five of the former, and one hundred and ninety-seven of the latter made up the list; and even that was believed to have exceeded the loss in the French and Russian squadrons put together.

The Sultan, taking the view of the transaction which it was natural for him to take, protested loudly against this destruction of his fleet by nations who had given him no notice of their intentions by a declaration of war; and proclaimed that it had made no alteration in the conduct which he was resolved, and which he had a right to pursue towards the Greeks. But this lofty language was only meant as a salve to his wounded dignity: in point of fact the battle of Navarino had put an end to the contest between him and his revolted subjects. Before the end of the year Ibrahim began to withdraw his troops from the Morea, and returned to Egypt, and Count Capo d'Istria, whom the Greeks elected as their President, began under that title to exercise undisputed authority over Greece as the ruler of an independent nation; though Turkish garrisons still held some of the fortresses in the Morea till the autumn of the next year.

But, though a regard for humanity, higher than any consideration of mere policy, had led us to aid in emancipating the Greeks from the dominion of the Sultan, our resolution to maintain his authority as little unimpaired as possible, was in no respect abated: ultimately, as will be seen, it involved us in a momentous war; and, even before that period arrived, it very nearly embroiled us at different times with both the allies with whom, in 1827, we had acted in concert. In 1829 the Russians, always seeking

on any pretext to extend their dominions at the expense of Turkey, had gained such advantages over the Sultan's generals, and turned so deaf an ear to the remonstrances of the English and Austrian statesmen on the subject, that the Duke of Wellington's Government sent orders to our Admiral in the Mediterranean to seize Admiral Heiden's fleet and conduct it to Malta if the Czar should continue inflexible. There was no occasion to carry these instructions into effect, since the resolution which we displayed on the subject brought about the peace of Adrianople, in which the disputes between Russia and Turkey were finally adjusted. And in subsequent years Russia, in appearance at least, became more friendly to Turkey, exchanging the accommodation effected at Adrianople, for a defensive and offensive alliance agreed upon at Unkiar Skelessi; while France on the other hand, from a jealousy of our influence at Constantinople, almost openly encouraged the efforts of Mehemet Ali, as Pasha of Egypt, to emancipate himself wholly from the Sultan's authority.

For Mehemet Ali, who, since his appointment to the government of Egypt, had raised that province to a very high degree of prosperity, and had greatly strengthened its military and naval resources, had for some time cherished the idea of compelling the Sultan to confirm his authority over that country as a permanent inheritance to his family, and had also gradually conceived the design of obtaining similar power in Syria. With this view in 1832 he picked a quarrel with the Pasha of Acre; marched an army against him under the command of his son Ibrahim, which soon took that town; defeated a force which the Sultan sent to compel his retreat in three pitched battles; and at the beginning of 1833, marched across Asia Minor to the shores of the Bosphorus, and threatened Constantinople itself. At such a crisis the Sultan applied to Great Britain for aid; but Lord Grey's Government had so reduced our warlike establishments that we were obliged to refuse his request;

and he was consequently compelled to have recourse to Russia. A Russian army was at once marched down to Constantinople, which, exacting valuable concessions as the price of the service, speedily compelled Ibrahim to retire; and, as the Sultan agreed to grant his father the government of the additional provinces which he demanded, he had in fact, no excuse for maintaining his hostile attitude. The influence which Russia had thus acquired naturally excited the jealousy both of ourselves and of the French, since a predominant influence in the Levant had always been a subject of rivalry between the two nations; and the next four or five years beheld both countries engaged in constant negotiations which had the establishment or preservation of such influence for their object: we, consistently with our general policy, openly concluding treaties with the Sultan; and the French making secret agreements or stipulations with Mehemet Ali.

But as, in consequence of these transactions, each party, the Sultan and his vassal, felt stronger, each also felt a growing desire to make war upon the other. The Sultan, in order to recover Syria, which he had only granted to Mehemet under compulsion; Mehemet with a view of rendering himself wholly and permanently independent: and at the beginning of 1839 both began openly to prepare for a resumption of hostilities. For a while the interposition of our Government and that of the French restrained them; but, in June of the same year, the Sultan's impatience got the better of all other considerations, and he despatched a fleet to Alexandria, and an army into Syria. Both equally failed to secure his objects. His army, before the end of the month, was routed at Negib by Ibrahim, and the fleet deserted to Mehemet without striking a blow. Just at this time, however, the old Sultan died, and was succeeded by his son, Abdel Medjid, who commenced his reign by making overtures of peace to his Egyptian vassal, offering him

the most favourable terms, including the hereditary viceroyalty of Egypt, burdened only with a small annual tribute, and also the government of the greater part of Syria for his life. Mehemet's demands, however, rose with every indication of the Sultan's weakness; he now required that Syria should be granted to him on the same permanent footing as Egypt; and he made no secret of his resolution to appeal to arms if these extravagant concessions should be refused. His eagerness for war was founded not only on his reliance on his own troops and generals, but also on the fact that he had found most of those in the Sultan's service accessible to his bribes. That the result of any renewal of the conflict would be as unfavourable to the Sultan as all preceding contests had been, was not doubtful to the governments of Western Europe; and, to prevent the final overthrow of that sovereign and his government, England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, concluded with Turkey a treaty in July, 1840, by which they agreed to compel Mehemet to accept the terms which he had rejected the year before. Orders were immediately sent to Sir Robert Stopford, our Admiral in the Mediterranean, to despatch a squadron to Beyrout, to be in readiness to act in the event of Mehemet refusing compliance with the conditions of the treaty within twenty days. In one important respect the orders now sent to the Admiral differed advantageously from those which previous Boards had been in the habit of issuing: since the authorities at home contented themselves with indicating to him the general object to be aimed at, "the protection and support of the Syrian subjects of the Sultan in their endeavours to expel the troops and officers of Mehemet Ali;" but left full "latitude to his discretion with respect to particular measures." \*

\* The British fleet in the Mediterranean at this time consisted of the following ships:—

104	Princess Charlotte	. .	{ Sir R. Stopford.
			{ Captain Fanshaw.

84 Asia

A British squadron had only left Beyrout a few days before, for as, throughout the preceding winter, Turkish affairs had been those which had most demanded the Admiral's attention, he had kept a part of his fleet about the north of the Archipelago, and, at the beginning of July, had sent Commodore Charles Napier\* with the Powerful, Edinburgh, Castor, and one steam-vessel to Beyrout, the mountainous district around which was in insurrection against Mehemet; and his expectation apparently was, since it was known that Ibrahim was only waiting for reinforcements to enable him to act against the insurgents with vigour, that the presence of our ships might restrain him from the perpetration of his usual severities on those who fell into his hands. From all active interference Napier was expressly prohibited. He did not reach Beyrout till the troops which Ibrahim had been expecting had landed, and then he found him indulging his old passion for extermination to its full extent. Villages

---

	Asia . . . . .	Captain Fisher.
	Ganges . . . . .	Captain Reynolds.
84	{ Powerful . . . . .	Captain Napier.
	{ Thunderer . . . . .	Captain Berkeley.
	{ Bellerophon . . . . .	Captain Austin.
74	Implacable . . . . .	Captain Harvey.
	Hastings . . . . .	Captain Laurence.
	Benbow . . . . .	Captain Stewart.
72	{ Edinburgh . . . . .	Captain Henderson.
	{ Belleisle . . . . .	Captain Nicolas.
	{ Revenge . . . . .	Captain Hon. W. Waldegrave.
36	{ Castor . . . . .	Captain Collier.
	{ Pique . . . . .	Captain Boxer.
	Carysfort . . . . .	Captain Martin.
26	{ Talbot . . . . .	Captain Codrington.
	{ Tyne . . . . .	Captain Townshend.
	{ Daphne . . . . .	Captain Dalling.
24	Magicienne (corvette) . .	Captain Michell.
18	Dido . . . . .	Captain Davies.

With seven sloops and six steam-vessels.

\* Captain Napier is here called Commodore from the beginning to avoid confusion; but in point of fact he did not receive his pendant till some weeks later.

were burning; men falling in promiscuous massacre; women and children starving, amid the destruction of their homes, and the desolation of their country. And when Napier, with the humanity inseparable from the character of a British officer, remonstrated with the perpetrators of these atrocities, he received no other reply than that they were acting under the strictest orders of their master the Viceroy. While doubting what line of conduct to pursue, and gathering information from every accessible quarter, Napier received from the Commander-in-chief orders to return to Vourla Bay. And he was on his way thither, when, on the 10th of August, being then on the coast of Caramania, he received a second order (the consequence of the directions which, as has been already mentioned, had reached Sir Robert from England), countermanding the first, increasing his squadron to four sail of the line, by the addition of the *Ganges* and *Thunderer*, 84, and directing him to return with them to Beyrout, and there to take such steps as the conduct of Mehemet's officers should seem to require.

On Napier's return to Beyrout he found the insurrection of the mountaineers quelled; so that Ibrahim and Suliman Pasha, Mehemet's admiral, who had also a military command, had no longer a plea for continuing warlike operations of any kind. There was also in the neighbourhood of the town a body of four thousand Turkish troops who desired to return to Constantinople, but whom, as was generally understood, the authorities were detaining by the Viceroy's orders. Napier did not quite like his position: his instinct was in favour of fighting, but his instructions enjoined him to wait in patience for the twenty days allowed to Mehemet in which to declare his compliance with the treaty of the 15th July: he had also a strong suspicion that, before the expiration of that time, the Turkish troops would be either removed by force, or won by corruption to



enter the Egyptian army. He, however, contented himself with giving notice to the Governor of Beyrout and others of the Egyptian officers that the inhabitants of Mount Lebanon, (the district which had recently been in insurrection,) and the Turkish troops were under his protection, and that in twenty days Syria was to be restored to the Sultan's government. As the Ministry at home had suggested to the Admiral the propriety of at once cutting off all communication by sea between Egypt and Syria, he also announced his intention to detain all vessels laden with troops, military stores, or provisions, on their way from Egypt to any Syrian port. The Egyptian authorities in and around Beyrout acquiesced in his measure, which indeed they had no means of resisting; but at Alexandria, where Stopford arrived before the end of the month, Mehemet himself fiercely announced that he should not pay the slightest regard to the Treaty of London, and at the expiration of the twenty days allowed him for consideration, on the 5th of September, he gave a formal refusal to the Turkish Ambassador and the Consuls of the allied Powers who were authorized to demand his answer.

Before that day arrived Stopford had landed at Alexandria, and had had an interview with the Viceroy, who received him with civility, but avoided entering into any political conversation. Sir Robert, however, had no difficulty in ascertaining the line of conduct on which he had determined, and, in order to be in a position to act with vigour when the time should arrive, he sailed northward with the greater part of his fleet, leaving Captain Fisher with the *Asia*, *Implacable*, and *Daphne*, to watch Alexandria, and prevent the Pasha's fleet from quitting the harbour. He was not, however, quite certain that he should have only the Egyptians to deal with; Ibrahim had quelled the insurrection, and disarmed the mountaineers, and Sir Robert knew that Mehemet had sent him intelligence that the French were preparing to aid him by sea and land: he

had also received intimation from our own Ministers that war with France might be expected at any moment. In fact the language which M. Thiers, the French Prime Minister, had recently held on the subject to Sir H. Bulwer, our ambassador at Paris, was unfriendly and menacing in the extreme. He did not think it unbecoming his position to declare that "the alliance between England and France was at an end; that France must increase her navy and army; that she was confident in her strength;" and to prophesy, as the inevitable effect of his own measures, the production of "a state of irritation which, sooner or later, would end in one of those wars which convulse Europe." Fortunately his own views differed from those entertained by his master, who at the moment overruled, and soon afterwards removed him from his post. But the existence of this difference of opinion between the King and the Minister could not be suspected by the British Admiral, and the intelligence sent to him from England appeared to make it the more requisite for him to lose no time. Before he arrived at Beyrout, Napier had spent a few days in a careful reconnaissance of the coast, and had ascertained that no place along its whole face offered any serious obstacle to an attack by the ships: but he himself was wanted on shore. In compliance with the advice of our court, a body of four or five thousand Turkish troops had been sent to the Syrian coast; Sir Charles Smith, a colonel in our Engineers, who had arrived about the same time with a small force of English artillery, and who was to have commanded the whole, was taken suddenly ill; and Napier, who, since 1815, had served in the civil war in Portugal, and had there acquired some knowledge of the movements of troops on shore, seemed the fittest person to supply his place. He joyfully undertook this new command; and, a month afterwards justified the selection that had been made of him, by giving Ibrahim a decisive defeat on the heights of Boharseff.

Beyrout was but a small town, surrounded by a wall studded with a few towers; but they were in bad repair, and the guns they mounted were neither numerous nor heavy; at a short distance outside the walls was a quarantine establishment, where the Turkish troops were stationed; and two other camps contained a considerable force of Egyptian and Albanian troops in Mehemet's service. The Admiral reached it on the 9th of September, and was joined the same day by a Turkish squadron of one sail of the line and four frigates and corvettes, under a British officer, Captain Baldwin Walker, at that time the Commander-in-chief of the Sultan's navy; and by the Austrian frigate *Guerriéra*, under the command of H.R.H. the Archduke Charles Frederic, and a corvette belonging to the same nation. Both Turks and Austrians were placed by their respective Governments under the orders of the British Admiral, and with his combined force he at once made his dispositions for an attack on the town; rather with the object of protecting Napier while landing his troops, and of drawing off the attention of the enemy from his first movements, than of destroying fortifications which could never do his fleet any serious injury. The town itself he took all possible care to avoid damaging. The Egyptian army was drawn up between the town and the sea, protected, as its officers apparently conceived, by the hedges and trees of the gardens which came down almost to the water's edge: but two or three of our ships of the line poured a heavy fire on them, and on the batteries, while the Austrian vessels, and the 16-gun sloop *Zebra*, under Commander Stopford, a son of the Admiral, enfiladed a road which led by the beach, and dispersed the troops which were encamped on the landward side of the town.

Thinking the lesson thus given might be sufficient, and wishing, as far as might be consistent with the objects of the campaign, to spare an enemy who had no means of

resistance or retaliation, Sir Robert the next morning summoned Suliman Pasha, the commander of the Egyptian troops, to withdraw them, and to surrender the town. But as he received none but evasive replies, he renewed his fire from time to time till he had wholly dismantled the fortifications; though, out of compassion to the peaceful inhabitants of the town, he forbore to land and storm it, as it was in his power to have done at any moment. Meanwhile he sent Captain Martin in the Carysfort, with the 18-gun sloop Dido and the Cyclops steamer, a few miles to the northward to attack Djebail and Batroun, a couple of towns on the coast, held by strong bodies of Albanian soldiery, which were causing some inconvenience and still greater alarm to the inhabitants of the district, who were eager to co-operate in their expulsion. At Batroun no resistance to our ships was attempted: the moment that they approached the Albanians were seen in full retreat, which a few round-shot and shells from the Carisfort converted into a precipitate flight; but their comrades at Djebail made a resolute stand which cost us several valuable lives. Djebail was defended by a square tower of considerable size, which Captain Martin resolved to attack both by sea and land. With this intention he anchored his three ships within musket-shot of the town; and, while they kept up a steady fire of shot and shell, and the launches, standing still closer in, swept the gardens on the shore with their carronades, the boats landed two hundred marines under the command of Captain Robinson, who, aided by a large party of the mountaineers whom we had furnished with arms, proceeded to the assault of the castle. He expected an easy success, since it had as yet made no reply to our guns, except by a few casual musket-shots, and was reported to be unprovided with cannon: but, when he had approached within thirty yards of the walls, he found his men exposed to a most severe fire from a crenelled outwork which could not be seen from the ships, and which was protected from any

attempt to storm it by a wide and deep ditch. The castle proved equally unassailable; no gate was visible, nor opening of any kind in its walls, except a formidable row of loopholes, from every one of which projected an Albanian rifle. It subsequently appeared that the only entrance was in the rear. Our men fell fast; Captain Austin of the Cyclops, who had volunteered to join the storming party, reported to Captain Martin that the heavy guns of the frigates could alone make any impression on the walls: but, when they in consequence reopened their fire, the great solidity of the building was found to defy all their efforts; and, after two hours of fruitless exertion, Captain Robinson drew off his men with a loss of twenty-three killed and wounded. Unfortunate as the affair had been, its failure was owing to no want of valour on the part of our men: indeed, two of them found occasion for an act of splendid personal gallantry. When the marines had regained the ships it was found that an English flag, which had been planted on one of the garden walls as a signal, had been accidentally left behind; and to prevent the enemy from possessing themselves of such a trophy, Lieutenant Grenfell, of the Cyclops, volunteered to recover it; a seaman named Macdonald petitioned to be allowed to accompany him, and the two brave men pulled in to the shore, in spite of a heavy fire of musketry which poured upon them incessantly from the moment that their object was perceived, effected their landing, and brought off the flag amid the cheers of their messmates on board. Nor, in fact, was the attack on the town fruitless, since in the night the enemy evacuated it and the fort, and the next day Captain Martin took possession of both in the Sultan's name.

While these officers were gaining these advantages in one direction, Captain Collier with the *Castor* and the *Pique*, and the Turkish frigate *Dewan*, was equally successful lower down the coast, without having to lament an equal loss. On the morning of the 17th this

little squadron sent in a boat to summon Kaiffa; but the garrison, five hundred strong, was so confident in its resources, that it would not even permit the flag of truce to approach the walls; and, when our ships opened their fire, replied for some time with great vigour from a battery armed with eight heavy guns, and two 13-inch mortars. The steadiness of their courage was, however, inferior to its vivacity: after a short struggle they deserted both battery and town, and Mr. Patey, first-lieutenant of the *Castor*, pulled ashore and hoisted the Ottoman flag on the ramparts. The next morning a party from the *Pique* destroyed a 5-gun battery in the neighbourhood before the eyes of a battalion of five hundred of Mehemet's best troops; and on the 24th the same squadron proceeded to Tsur, the ancient Tyre, and, though fifteen hundred Egyptian soldiers were there to defend it, silenced its batteries, and captured the town.

On the same day Napier, commanding on shore, with a battalion of marines under Captain Fegan, an Austrian rocket-brigade, and a division of Turks, routed a far more numerous division of Ibrahim's soldiers; and a day or two afterwards he dealt him a still heavier blow by the capture of Sidon. The attack on this town was a project formed by himself, to which he had some difficulty in obtaining Sir Robert's consent; but to the success of which the very doubts which the Admiral had at first entertained in the end greatly contributed, by leading him to place at the Commodore's disposal an irresistible force. He gave him the *Thunderer*, the *Guerriéra*, the *Gulsefide*, a fine Turkish corvette, the 10-gun sloop *Wasp*, Commander Mänsel, and four steamers, the *Cyclops*, *Gordon*, *Stromboli*, and *Hydra*, which were of the greatest service in towing the sailing-vessels into the precise positions which it was desired that they should take up. He gave him also two battalions of marines, amounting together to seven hundred and fifty men, and one of Turkish troops: and with these, on the

27th of September, the Commodore arrived in front of Sidon, and, without a moment's loss of time, proceeded to attack it by land and sea. He did, indeed, first send a summons to the Governor calling on him to surrender, but, as he was certain that it would be rejected, he did not slacken his preparations for an instant attack; and the moment that the boat returned he opened his fire. The Thunderer, with the Guerriéra and Gulsefide, had taken their stations in front of the town; the Wasp and the Stromboli steamer were anchored to the southward; the Cyclops, Gordon, and Hydra to the northward. It was still early in the morning when they opened their fire, which was returned with greater vigour than had hitherto been shown by the enemy in any other quarter; but on this occasion they were confident of success, for the fortifications were strong, and their own numbers were not less than three thousand men.

The principal defences of Sidon were two castles, the largest of which was connected with the town by a narrow causeway; and, though destitute of heavy artillery, both were loopholed for musketry on every side; the different landing-places also were commanded by entrenchments, thrown up on purpose to prevent the disembarkation of troops; and the adjacent houses were also occupied by soldiers. But nothing could withstand the fire of our ships. Entrenchments and houses were soon evacuated by their garrisons, and, as each landing-place was seen to be cleared, detachments of marines were promptly landed at the different points. The Turkish battalion was landed by Captain Austin at the entrance of one castle; a mixed force of British and Austrians was thrown by Captain Mansel into the other. Napier himself took the command of a third party, with which he forced his way into a large barrack; and having mastered it, and another fort in its neighbourhood, stormed a second barrack, where he found a division of above a thousand men, armed, and waiting

only for the signal to sally forth on the assailants ; but who now, taken by surprise, laid down their arms, and their submission completed the fall of the town. Vast quantities of stores of every kind fell into our hands ; and the cost at which the triumph had been achieved, was comparatively trifling. Its entire amount did not exceed four killed and thirty-two wounded. And Stopford, when, a week afterwards, he reported the success of the enterprise to the authorities in England, was able to affirm that the blow had not only been wholly unexpected by Ibrahim, but had in a great degree paralyzed his subsequent movements.

The principal part of the fleet was still lying off Beyrout, and the Admiral did not think that the hour was yet come for making a second attack, with a view to gaining possession of it ; but our sailors from time to time found opportunity for dashing acts of personal bravery, which abundantly proved that five-and-twenty years of peace had not enervated the national spirit. At the beginning of October, two Turkish gunners came off to the Hastings, and, giving information to Captain Lawrence that two hundred barrels of powder were stored in the castle, and that a train was laid from the town to the centre of the magazine, proposed that we should send a party under their guidance to cut it off. It was manifestly a service of extreme danger but Commander Worth and Lieutenant Schomberg of the Hastings volunteered to perform it ; the Edinburgh sent in her launch and pinnace with their guns to cover the boat's crew, and the two ships also opened a heavy fire on the place. The garrison had no means of replying to the cannonade, and the castle walls were so solid that it did them no injury ; but they assailed the party which had landed with a constant shower of musketry, which struck down three of their number ; still, in spite of all resistance, our men found the train, severed it, then made their way into the castle, brought off eighty-one huge cases of powder, and threw twice that number, which



they could not carry off, into the sea. Seeing their success, the garrison came down upon them in such force, that they were at last forced to retreat ; but the greater part of their work was done, and the next day Worth returned to complete it, being on this second occasion, joined by Commander Hastings of the Edinburgh. Their loss was less, since Worth on the previous day had discovered another entrance into the castle ; and they destroyed the greater part of the powder that remained, without sustaining any damage except a wound of one sailor. And the enemy, completely disheartened, the next day blew up the castle, and thus removed a great obstacle to our making ourselves masters of the town whenever the Admiral should judge it desirable to do so.

It fell into our possession a few days afterwards. On the 7th Stopford directed Napier, who was still on shore in command of the Turkish troops, to march along the hills at the back of Beyrout, in order to attack the Egyptian army which was still covering the town ; promising to support him with the marines of the squadron, which should meet him as he descended into the narrow plain between the hills and the sea. And he brought the Princess Charlotte in front of the town that he might superintend the meditated attack in person. The first fruit of this plan was the unresisted seizure of Beyrout, which its garrison evacuated on the 9th, leaving their tents, considerable stores, and twenty-six field pieces, while two thousand of their comrades came into the town and delivered up their arms as prisoners. And the next day Napier encountered the Egyptian army, under the command of Ibrahim himself, and being very superior in numbers, utterly routed it, taking several hundred prisoners, and a great quantity of military stores.

The success thus achieved caused the Egyptian commanders to evacuate the North of Syria, in order to

concentrate their efforts on the defence of the southern districts, and especially of Acre, which they foresaw would be the next place to be attacked. While, apparently with the view of drawing off part of our force from that quarter, Mehemet Ali began to make ostentatious preparations for sending to sea a powerful squadron from his Alexandrian fleet. Captain Fisher, however, promptly reported the movements in the harbour to the Commander-in-chief; and he, without relaxing his hold on the Syrian coast, contented himself with despatching the *Cambrian* and *Edinburgh* to reinforce Fisher, who, thus strengthened, established a rigid blockade of the harbour, which the old Viceroy plainly saw that his whole fleet would be unable to break. Meanwhile every day was diminishing his power. At Tsur, and one or two other towns, the governors declared for the Sultan; and, while great numbers of deserters from the Egyptian army were daily surrendering themselves, the inhabitants of the mountain districts were flocking down from the hills, and soliciting arms, with which Stopford, in accordance with his instructions, had no difficulty in supplying them. And on the 4th of November the Admiral dealt Mehemet what was in effect a final blow in the capture of Acre. The fortifications of that celebrated town had always been kept up with jealous care, and it was believed by the natives to be now even stronger than when, nearly half a century before, it had defied the efforts of Buonaparte. But Stopford knew that at that time it had owed its safety principally to a British sailor, and thought that when British sailors, instead of being its defenders, became its assailants, its fate might be expected to be very different; and he and Sir Charles Smith, who was now fully recovered, had been some time planning an attack on it, when their half-resolved purpose was fixed and hastened by a despatch from England

recommending such an enterprise with an earnestness that scarcely left them any alternative but that of instant compliance.

Accordingly, on the afternoon of the 31st of October, the day on which the orders from England arrived, the Admiral, still at Beyrout, began to embark the British artillerymen and engineers, with a division of Turkish infantry, and prepared to sail for Acre the moment the wind should serve. For two days, however, the wind was adverse, but on the morning of the 2nd of November it changed ; with a fair though light breeze the whole fleet got under way, and before dark came in sight of Acre. It certainly required all the strength that could be brought against it, for the walls, of great height and solidity, bristled with two hundred guns, and were manned with a garrison that fell little short of five thousand men, if it did not exceed that number. But the Admiral felt that, if the fleet were only brought close enough to the batteries, it would soon silence the foe ; and for so placing the ships he reposed full confidence in his captains. The entire force consisted of seven English line-of-battle ships, the *Princess Charlotte*, *Powerful*, *Revenge*, *Benbow*, *Thunderer*, *Bellerophon*, and *Edinburgh*, with Captain Walker's Turkish flagship ; of the *Castor*, *Pique*, *Carysfort*, and *Talbot* frigates ; with two Austrian frigates, the *Medea*, commanded by Admiral *Bandeira*, and the *Guerriéra*, by the *Archduke* ; and four steam-vessels, all armed with heavy mortars, and two sloops.

Acre, being built on an acute angle of the coast, presents two faces to the sea, one looking towards the west, the other towards the south ; and both sides were protected in no inconsiderable degree by several shoals, which, however, were carefully surveyed and buoyed by Captain *Boxer* and Captain *Henry Codrington* in the *Pique* and *Talbot* on the night of the 2nd. The batteries, however, of the western side were apparently the more

powerful; and the Admiral, who himself quitted the Princess Charlotte for the Phoenix steamer, in order to be able to move from point to point, and to superintend the operations on both sides, consequently allotted the attack of that side to the larger ships, the Princess Charlotte, Powerful, Bellerophon, Thunderer, and Revenge; while for the southern side he expected the Edinburgh, Benbow, three frigates and the sloops to prove sufficient. Napier was to lead his division in the Powerful, and Captain Collier in the Castor was to discharge the same duty on the other side. Both divisions the Admiral hoped might have been brought within five hundred yards of the walls before they opened their fire; but the shoals prevented them from approaching quite so near, and the attack was conducted at a distance not much under half a mile. In another still more important respect also, the attack was not carried out exactly as the Admiral had planned it. Napier was a man of undoubted bravery, and of considerable skill as a seaman; but he had two great faults: an impatience of all superior authority, so perceptible even to himself, that thirty years before, without suspecting how great a defect such a description implied, he had spoken of himself as hating to be under anybody's orders; and, what if possible was still less excusable, a constant desire to engross to himself all the credit of every operation in which he bore a share. Under the influence of these feelings he had established a correspondence with the First Lord of the Admiralty, and the Foreign Secretary in England, an act perfectly unprecedented in a Captain or Commodore when an Admiral was present with the fleet, and which those Ministers were greatly to blame to permit; he had repeatedly and ostentatiously announced a difference of opinion between himself and the Admiral; and now, when leading his division, he suddenly halted long before reaching the station appointed for him; and, as he made

no signal to the ships behind him to explain why he had done so, they, to keep astern of him, as their orders prescribed, anchored also in places where their fire was far less effective than it would have been had they taken the stations originally appointed for them. Seeing the mischief that had been done, the Admiral from the Phoenix signalled the Thunderer to pass ahead of the Powerful, but she was so closely wedged between the Princess Charlotte and the Bellerophon that she was unable to extricate herself. The Revenge was more fortunate, and succeeded in taking up the position indicated by the Admiral for the Thunderer, anchoring almost abreast of a great earthwork at the projecting angle of the town. On the southern side things were better managed. As the Benbow came on, Captain Stewart saw, that, if he were to be guided by the movements of the Powerful, according to his original instructions, he should never reach the position assigned to him, and therefore made a signal to the Admiral for permission to pass on to the south. An answering signal approved his design, and commanded the Edinburgh to follow him; and soon after two o'clock the ships on both sides opened an almost irresistible cannonade on the devoted town. From the situation of the town, as already described, and the position taken up by the two divisions of the squadron, the batteries on each side were exposed not only to a direct fire from the ships in their front, but to a cross-fire from that ship of each division which was nearest to the centre. And all vied with one another in the precision and rapidity with which their guns were served. The garrison, too, replied briskly for some time, though with a most inaccurate aim;\* but when the battle had raged for nearly two hours, their exertions were suddenly

\* It is said that the garrison had mistaken the buoys laid down by the Pique and Talbot on the shoals for marks of the positions intended for the ships, and had laid their guns for them.

thousand prisoners, and an almost incalculable amount



paralyzed by the explosion of one of the principal powder-magazines, which destroyed a great portion of the town and batteries, and killed two entire regiments who were under arms waiting to be called into action in the event of our endeavouring to storm the walls. It is believed that it had been struck by a shell from one of the steam-vessels ; and though, since it was at the back of the town, it did no injury to the batteries engaged, it disheartened the whole garrison ; their fire gradually slackened, and in half an hour ceased altogether.

By this time, however, it was too dark to ascertain the effect of our attack. Two or three of our ships on the north-western side drew off into deeper water, but Captain Collier's division remained in its position, and all expected a renewal of the contest at daybreak. Captain Walker in his Turkish flagship had taken his place at the inner extremity of our line on the south-west, and by his unwearied energy had roused his Turkish crew to vie in some degree with their allies among his own countrymen. During the night he warped close in under the walls, and even sent in two of his crew to attempt to land, and ascertain the condition of the fortress. They failed in their errand, but long before daybreak some deserters came alongside with news that the garrison was evacuating the place ; and Walker at once sent a party to secure the water-gate, and to proclaim in the Sultan's name pardon to all who should at once lay down their arms. The next morning we took possession of Acre, which still was in a condition to have offered a desperate resistance, had not its garrison been disheartened by the events of the preceding day ; for the walls were so solid that our cannonade, heavy as it had been, had failed to breach them in any part, and so high that the attempt to scale them would have been full of difficulty. The loss of life among the garrison could not be ascertained ; but we took above three thousand prisoners, and an almost incalculable amount



of military stores, while the killed and wounded in the combined fleet did not exceed sixty men. Some damage had been done to the maintopmast and maintopgallant-mast of the *Powerful*; and more serious injuries of the same kind had been received by the *Castor*, which had taken her station between the *Edinburgh* and *Benbow*, and had been exposed to a more severe fire than any ship in the whole fleet; the little *Wasp*, which the gallantry of her commander had placed in a position suited rather to a line-of-battle ship, between the *Benbow* and the Turkish flagship, had also had her foremost disabled; but with these exceptions, none of our ships received any important injury; and Admiral Stopford again spread the fleet along the whole coast, so as to watch every point from Alexandria to Scanderoon.

For, though Tripoli, Tortosa, and Latakia had surrendered, Mehemet Ali still retained some strongholds on the northern frontier of Syria. Aleppo, Scanderoon, Adana, and Tarsus were still in his hands; but, when, on the 10th of November, Sir Robert reached that district, he found that, on hearing of the fall of Acre, Ibrahim had withdrawn the garrison from all these places, and had concentrated them into one army with which he had intrenched himself near Baalbec. In fact, the capture of Acre had virtually terminated the war; not so much on account of the strategic importance of the place, though that was very considerable, as from the moral effect of the achievement, since Acre had been generally looked upon throughout the whole extent of the Turkish dominions at one of its most impregnable fortresses. Ibrahim, who had won it for his father, had not reduced it in less than ten months, though in command of an army of forty thousand men; so that a force which could compel it to surrender in a single day was almost inevitably looked upon as irresistible.\* All notion

\* "L'effet moral que produira cet événement est incalculable. St. Jean d'Acre est regardée comme la clef de la Syrie, dont les habitans se souviennent

of Mehemet's eventual success was at an end; and the inhabitants of the surrounding districts, and indeed of all Syria, thus relieved of their fears, attacked Ibrahim's outlying detachments, and cut off his supplies; while his own troops deserted in such numbers that his army diminished daily, till, even with his talents, it was no longer formidable. By the middle of November our Admiral was able to report to his Government that there was nothing more left for the squadron to accomplish: that Jerusalem had been recovered; that no Egyptian force remained nearer than Damascus; and that even the soldiers who were there, were believed to be retreating; and he began to withdraw the greater part of his fleet to Marmorice for the winter.

For a moment there seemed a probability of his finding some little employment at Candia, which an insurrectionary faction, obtaining a momentary predominance, had ranged on the side of Mehemet Ali, and which we, acting in the spirit of the treaty of July, were determined to recover for the Sultan. But the overthrow of the Viceroy on the continent ruined his cause also in the islands; the Governor of Candia submitted at the first summons he received from the Porte; and, before the end of the month in which Acre had fallen, Mehemet himself, hopeless of any alteration of the state of affairs while our fleet remained in the Levant, showed his willingness to withdraw from his untenable pretensions, and to accept the conditions which he had previously rejected. He was aided in some degree by the extraordinary presumption of Commodore Napier. That officer, when the Admiral dispersed his fleet after the capture of Acre, had been sent to take the command of the squadron lying before Alexandria; and he had scarcely reached it before he began, on his own authority, to enter

---

qu'il a fallu à Ibrahim Pasha une armée de 40,000 hommes, et dix mois de tems pour la prendre, non sans essuyer des pertes considerables."—Baron Sturmer (Austrian minister at Constantinople) to his Government.

into negotiations with the Viceroy. He was aware, and, had not his Commander-in-chief been close at hand, it would have been a fair reason for his conduct, that the British Government had expressed an opinion to their representative at Constantinople, that it would be not only generous but politic in the Sultan still to grant to the yet powerful Pasha the terms which had been agreed upon in the treaty of July ; but he overlooked the difference between concessions voluntarily made by the Porte, and concessions extorted from it by the four Powers who had saved it ; and took upon himself, in the first place, to communicate to Mehemet Ali the advice which our Minister had been instructed to offer to the Sultan, and in the second place to conclude with him a convention, embodying the most important of Mehemet's demands, the hereditary government of Egypt, and even going beyond them, so far as to imply a placing of that Government under the guarantee of the four Powers. He also, in express disregard of the orders sent from England to the Admiral, granted a passage between Egypt and Syria to Mehemet's vessels. His authority to conclude such a treaty was instantly and most properly disavowed by the Admiral, by Sir Charles Smith, as Commander of the military part of our force, by the Sublime Porte, and by the Ministers of the four Powers at Constantinople : and the most essential of the conditions, the guarantee by the four Powers of the hereditary government of Egypt, was disavowed by the Ministers in England, the moment that the news of his proceeding reached them. He was fortunate in one circumstance. In the middle of November fresh instructions had been sent from England, both to our Minister at Constantinople and to Sir R. Stopford, enjoining the first to recommend the Sultan still to grant the Viceroy favorable conditions, and ordering the second to open a communication with Mehemet Ali, which should explain to him the possibility of still obtaining such terms, which included the heredi-

tary government of Egypt, so long as he and his heirs should abstain from infringing the conditions on which it had been granted. And the Minister at the head of our Foreign Department at the time, not conceiving himself called upon to take notice of the breach of professional rules and the usurpation of the Admiral's functions committed by Napier, but looking only to the fact that the convention secured the objects which the four Powers had again and again declared to be desirable, though clogged with a guarantee which they had never contemplated, contented himself with disavowing the guarantee, and accepted the rest of the Convention. It was speedily carried out in all its points. The portion which most immediately concerned our fleet was the restitution of the Turkish ships, which had deserted to Mehemet six months before. On the 11th of January, 1841, they were formally given up to Admiral Walker, who, in the harbour of Alexandria hoisted in them the Sultan's flag, which our squadron and the Viceroy's batteries joined in saluting. And, though November arrived before our fleet finally quitted the Levant, during which interval there was more than one rumour of fresh insurrections breaking out in Candia, which compelled the Admiral to detach a ship or two to that island to awe down the malcontents, not another shot was fired. Mehemet Ali had received a lasting lesson, to be contented with, or at least to acquiesce in his position; and the Sultan was left at leisure to prosecute a system of internal reform in Turkey, of which no country had ever stood in greater need, but of which no former Sultan had ever conceived the possibility.

## CHAPTER XLIII.

1853—1854.

Circumstances that seemed to favour Russia's designs on Turkey—The Czar declares war against the Sultan—Destroys the Turkish fleet at Sinope—The English and French fleets enter the Black Sea—Captain Drummond at Sebastopol—War is declared—Russian governor at Odessa fires on a flag of truce—Bombardment of Odessa—Loss of the *Tiger*—Captain Tatham at Sebastopol—Sir E. Lyons reconnoitres the eastern coast of the Black Sea—Captain Parker at Sulina—Passage of the army to the Crimea—Battle of the Alma—Fleet goes round to Balaklava—Bombardment of Sebastopol—The Naval Brigade—Storm at Balaklava—Admiral Dundas returns home—Equipment of a fleet for the Baltic—Sir C. Napier is appointed to the command—The Queen visits the fleet—The Admiral's apprehensions—Rear-Admiral Plumridge goes to the Gulf of Finland—The fleet advances towards Hango—Retires—Reaches Hango—Rear-Admiral Corry off Dager Ort—Rear Admiral Plumridge in the Gulf of Bothnia—Captain Yelverton at Eckness—Survey of different sands and plans of all channels—Arrival of the French fleet—Combined fleet off Cronstadt—Uleaborg—Gamla Carleby—Captain Sullivan is sent to Sveaborg—He surveys the Aland Isles—Captain Hall at Bomarsund—Bombardment of Bomarsund—Captain Ramsay's Battery—Captain Scott reconnoitres Abo—General Jones recommends an attack on Sveaborg—Plan examined and rejected—Fleet returns home—Captain Ommanney is sent to the White Sea—Archangel is reconnoitred—Captain Lyons destroys Solovestskoi—Destroys Kola—Squadron at Petropaulovski—Death of Admiral Price—Defeat of the allied squadron—Final escape of the Russians.

THOUGH our support had thus carried the Ottoman Empire over its dangers for a time, the very fact of that support having been indispensable, showed the weakness of the Government, which had twice, within a few years, required the aid of a foreign power to save it from its own rebellious vassal. The aid which we had afforded had been wholly disinterested; but Russia, at the very time when she had given her assistance, had exacted a very ample reward in the treaty of Unkiar-skelessi,\* and had ever since been

\* By a secret article of this treaty, the Sultan had agreed to close the Dardanelles against all ships of war of any foreign Power; a stipulation that directly tended to place him at the mercy of Russia, which had a fleet at Sebastopol.

watching for some favourable opportunity of appropriating a still richer recompense in the great city of Constantinople itself. At last, at the beginning of the year 1853, the Czar believed that he saw such an opportunity. In France, the Imperial Government, which had only been inaugurated in the closing month of the preceding year, could hardly yet be looked upon as so firmly established that any resolute line of action could be anticipated from it : while the very name of the new Emperor seemed calculated to sow a jealousy of his government and dynasty in England. The news, therefore, of Napoleon's elevation to the throne had scarcely reached St. Petersburg, when the Czar began to sound Sir Hamilton Seymour, our ambassador at that capital, on the weakness of Turkey, in which he professed to see signs of its certain and early dissolution ; and on the measures to be adopted, when that dissolution should take place.

It happened unfortunately, though, as it proved, even more unfortunately for Russia than for Turkey, that there were one or two subjects, of great delicacy, affecting the interests of both nations, which had been so dealt with in treaties still in force between them, that they seemed to give Russia a right of interfering in the internal affairs of Turkey. One was a religious question ; turning partly upon the position of the Christian subjects of the Sultan, of whom the Czar affected to look upon himself as the authorized protector ; and partly upon the right of visitation of the Holy Places in Palestine, a province of the Sultan's dominions. The other was that of the Danubian Principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia, which, though nominally still forming a part of the dominions of the Porte, were yet held by it under an arrangement that modified their subjection to the Turkish rule, and over them Russia had a right to exact some kind of protecting power, which, in a Russian point of view, was not rendered less valuable by the uncertainty that existed as to its extent. It

was clear that either of these subjects might at any time be so handled as to afford a plausible ground of quarrel between the two states; and both were accordingly imported by the Czar into the discussions which took place in the course of 1853. But we need not enter into any consideration of them here, not only because they are foreign to a naval history, which is more concerned with the achievements than with the causes of war; but also because it is quite manifest and certain that the difficulties which arose respecting them, were only the pretexts, and not the causes of the war which ensued; and that the Czar's real motive in hurrying on that war was the belief which he entertained that, owing to the state of affairs in the West of Europe, to which allusion has been made, both France and England would, at the moment, be unable or disinclined to enter into the lists in defence of Turkey, and that, therefore, the road to Constantinople lay open to him.

In June, 1853, the Czar commenced war against Turkey; or rather, invaded the Principalities, accompanying the invasion by a proclamation which he affirmed to be, not a declaration of war, but merely an announcement of his intention to assert his rights by force of arms, and to leave it to God to decide the differences between him and the Sultan. The Ministers of the Porte, unable to make such nice distinctions, replied to his proclamation by a formal declaration of war; and our Government and that of France adopted the same view of the state of affairs so entirely, that, in order to be ready the more effectually to aid Turkey in the strife which was impending, they ordered the fleets, which each Power at that time had in the Mediterranean, to be concentrated at the entrance to the Dardanelles. Events now proceeded rapidly. In the middle of October the British and French Admirals, on the invitation of the Sultan, passed through that Strait, and anchored in front of Constantinople. Baron Brunow,

the Russian ambassador in London, protested energetically against this resolute step; which in fact rendered the maintenance of peace almost impossible, so unmistakable was the menace which it conveyed, if Russia should not withdraw from the pretensions which she had advanced: but which, nevertheless, was the only measure left open to our Government and to that of France, unless they were prepared to see the whole of European Turkey instantly overrun, and at the mercy of the Russian invader.

That such would be the case if we did not interfere with promptitude and vigour, and that but little mercy would be shown to the conquered, was abundantly proved in the course of the next month, when the Russian fleet quitted Sebastopol to attack a Turkish squadron lying at Sinope. The inferiority of the latter was such, that no resistance worthy of mention could possibly be made: nor could the Turks hope to escape the capture of their whole force, since it consisted of no more than seven frigates and a few smaller vessels; while the Russians had six line-of-battle ships, three of which were first-rates of 120 guns each, two frigates, and two or three steam-vessels. But it was no ordinary act of hostility that the Russian Admiral, M. Nachimoff, contemplated. He resolved to give no quarter; and, without sending in any summons to surrender, the usual course in the case of such a disparity of force as existed on this occasion, he at once stood in to the Bay and opened his fire on the devoted ships, till he had blown up some and sunk the rest. One small steamer escaped along the shore to carry the news to Constantinople. The rest were all destroyed; and, of their crews amounting to above three thousand men, every soul perished.

This act of butchery, unparalleled in modern times, produced a great sensation throughout Europe in general, and especially in England and France, which, having, by the despatch of their fleets to Constantinople, avowedly taken the Turkish Government under their protection, looked



upon the act as one of intentional and ostentatious defiance to themselves. The two nations on this, as on each previous occasion, acted in perfect harmony ; and, to prevent a repetition of such an atrocity, sent orders to their Admirals to conduct their fleets at once into the Black Sea ; to stop every Russian ship they met, and compel it to return to Sebastopol ; and to prevent by force, if necessary, any fresh aggression on the Turkish flag : and they gave formal notice of the order and of its object to the Cabinet at St. Petersburg, and to the Governor of Sebastopol. The despatch of this latter notice gave occasion for a singular display of address on the part of the officer, Captain Drummond, of the Retribution, who carried it. The fleets passed through the Bosphorus on the 4th of January, 1854, and the next day he sailed with his message to Sebastopol. When he arrived there, the weather, as is usual on that coast in the winter season, was extremely thick ; and he entered the mouth of the harbour, and anchored between the outermost forts before the character, or even the presence, of his vessel was perceived. When she was made out to be an English frigate, she was regarded with no little displeasure, and it is even said that some of the guns on the batteries were loaded in expectation of an order being given to fire upon the audacious intruder ; but since as yet there was peace between England and Russia, there could be no pretence for such an act. And, as soon as the receipt of his despatch was acknowledged, Captain Drummond exchanged salutes with the Governor and retired : having made such skilful use of his brief visit, that he was enabled to bear back to his Admiral an account of the fortifications of Sebastopol, so accurate and so complete, that subsequent reconnaissances found nothing to correct and very little to add. Those fortifications were indeed of a most formidable character. On the two sides of the harbour, Captain Drummond counted eleven forts and batteries ; one, which he conceived to be the key to the works

on the northern side of the harbour, and indeed to the whole place, had its guns entirely concealed from his view; but on the other ten he reckoned no fewer than seven hundred and twenty-two guns, of which about one-half pointed to seaward, and commanded the approach to the harbour, the other half commanded the harbour itself. The guns were, at the least, in his judgment, 32-pounders; and men could be seen in every direction strengthening the existing works, and erecting new ones. The town was also surrounded with a fifteen-feet wall, loopholed for musketry, and having a ditch in front of it; and in the harbour lay the Russian fleet. The entrance was so narrow, that it would barely admit of two sail of the line entering abreast; and, on reviewing the strength of the forts and their position, Captain Drummond had no hesitation in pronouncing the place entirely unassailable by ships alone. It might easily be blockaded, and greatly harassed by the blockading force shelling it at night; it might also, he conceived, be subdued by a combined military and naval force: but a fleet that should endeavour to enter the harbour and destroy the ships lying there, would, in his opinion, be rushing upon utter destruction. It is a remarkable proof of the soundness of his opinion, that it very nearly marked out the line of conduct which ultimately did lead to the fall of the place. We had not, indeed, occasion to blockade the harbour, because the act of the Russians themselves, in sinking their ships, relieved us from that necessity; but for a long time, as will hereafter be mentioned, we harassed the garrison by nightly repeated cannonades; and it was to an army, co-operating with the fleet, that it at last succumbed.

The entrance of the fleets\* into the Black Sea brought

\* The following is a list of the British portion of the combined fleets;

† indicates the screw-steamers, ‡ the paddle-steamers, the rest were sailing vessels:—

120	{	Britannia . . . . .	{	Vice-Admiral Deans Dundas, C.B.
				Captain J. W. Carter.
	{	Trafalgar . . . . .	{	Captain Greville.

116 Queen

war nearer. The Czar recalled his ambassadors from London and Paris; and we sent out Sir John Burgoyne and a staff of engineers to examine the district, while the second officer in command of the fleet, Sir Edmund Lyons, sailed round the greater part of the eastern coast, on a voyage of reconnaissance, which could have no object if war were not intended. For a few weeks diplomatists still kept up negotiations to preserve to the last on both sides a show of a desire for peace, which both equally felt impossible to be maintained: but, on the 28th of March, Queen

---

116	Queen . . . . .	Captain Michell.
	{ †Agamemnon . . . . .	{ Rear-Admiral Sir E. Lyons, G.C.B.
91	{ Albion . . . . .	{ Captain Symonds.
		Captain S. Lushington.
90	{ Rodney . . . . .	Captain C. Graham.
	{ London . . . . .	Captain C. Eden.
84	Vengeance . . . . .	Captain Lord E. Russell.
80	Bellerophon . . . . .	Captain Lord G. Paulet.
70	†Sans Pareil . . . . .	Captain S. C. Dacres.
50	{ Arethusa . . . . .	Captain W. R. Mends.
	{ Leander . . . . .	Captain G. St. Vincent King.
31	{ †Tribune . . . . .	Captain Hon. S. Carnegie.
	{ Curaçoa . . . . .	Captain Hastings.
28	†Retribution . . . . .	Captain Hon. T. R. Drummond.
26	Diamond . . . . .	Captain W. Peel.
22	{ †Terrible . . . . .	Captain M'Cleverty.
	{ †Sidon . . . . .	Captain Goldsmith.
21	†Highflyer . . . . .	Captain John Moore.
16	{ †Furious . . . . .	Captain Loring.
	{ Tiger . . . . .	Captain Giffard.
13	Niger . . . . .	Commander Heath.

And nine steam-sloops, Sampson, Firebrand, Fury, Inflexible, Cyclops, Vesuvius, Triton, Spitfire, Viper; and three troop-ships, Simeon, Vulcan, and *Megara*.

In the great French war, nearly all vessels carrying under 24 guns were classed as sloops, and were very inferior vessels; but the paddle-steamers mentioned in the above list were in reality very powerful frigates, having no gun less than a 32-pounder, in most cases carrying several 8-inch guns for throwing hollow shot or shell; and on the upper deck, either 10-inch guns or 68-pounders as pivot-guns; while the smaller steamers each carried one or two of these latter formidable weapons, besides 32-pounders as broadside-guns.

The French fleet consisted of fifteen sail of the line, of which five were first-rates; and of twenty-one frigates and smaller vessels. The flag of M. Hamelin, Commander-in-chief, was in the *Ville de Paris*, 120; that of M. Bruat, the second in command, in the *Montebello*, of the same force.

Victoria declared war against Russia, and on the 9th of April the intelligence reached the fleets then lying in Kavarna Bay, a roadstead on the western side of the Black Sea, a little to the north of Varna. Thus at last was broken the peace, which had united the nations of Christian Europe for nearly forty years, the longest period of tranquillity that they had enjoyed since the oldest among them had been a nation ; during which all, and none so much as those now to be engaged in war as allies, had made vast progress in the arts of civilization and refinement, in commercial wealth and general prosperity ; and sad were the feelings and forebodings with which many a peaceful citizen in both countries viewed a plunge from this state of progressive peaceful improvement into a war of which no man could then foresee the end. But no such heaviness of melancholy anticipation clouded the minds of the gallant sailors who now received their sovereign's summons to fight for her and for their country. By them the announcement was received with heartfelt unanimous cheers. Probably, among them all, the two Admirals were the only men who had served in the great French war, in which indeed Sir E. Lyons, as we have seen, young as he then was, had gained no ordinary distinction. But all had heard tales of its marvellous achievements, of its undying glory from their older messmates ; and all burnt with a patriotic ambition to shew that the character and prowess of the British sailor had in nowise degenerated ; but that they who now waited the signal in the dark, cheerless waters of the Euxine, were worthy successors of those who, in a former generation, had chased the enemies of their country across the Atlantic, or crushed them in sight of their own sunny harbours.

Not a moment was lost by our Admiral. The fleet, indeed, was forbidden to make prizes till May ; and our squadron, though ready to put to sea at once, was compelled to wait a day or two for the French, who had not

yet received their orders, nor had even got on board all their provisions. But though, for this reason, the main body remained in the bay a day or two longer, the Retribution with the English and French steam-vessels, *Niger* and *Descartes*, was at once sent to Odessa to blockade that harbour, and to prevent anything from escaping before we had inflicted on it a deserved chastisement for a shameless violation of the rules of war, committed even before either we or the Russians knew that war had been declared. For, a few days before, Captain Loring of the *Furious*, had been sent thither with a flag of truce,\* to bring off the British Consul, and any British residents who might be in the town; and both the frigate and those who were quitting the place to embark in her had been fired on by the garrison. And it was resolved to teach the Russians an early lesson that such disregard of the usages of civilized nations would not be tolerated.

At last, on the 17th of April, the combined fleets weighed, proceeded northwards, and on the evening of the 20th anchored in front of Odessa. That city is situated at the southern corner of a small bay: its north-western extremity lies on moderately high cliffs, sloping down to the plain at the south-eastern end; reminding many an English visitor of the general appearance of Brighton. At its lower end a long pier, known as the Quarantine Mole, and armed with a heavy battery, projects into the sea with a curve towards the north, so as to form, with another small pier, a harbour for trading-vessels; and near the upper or northern end a third pier, more strongly armed than the other, and called the Imperial Mole, forms a port for the men-of-war. Strong batteries were also skilfully placed at different points, so as to sweep the bay

\* The entrance of the allied fleets into the Black Sea, being a violation of existing treaties, was looked upon by Russia so completely as equivalent to a declaration of war, that from that time forward a flag of truce was deemed necessary whenever any communication was to be made.

with a cross-fire ; and a citadel with heavy guns overlooked the whole. Behind the Imperial Mole lay the barracks, and the Government storehouses, and magazines ; and this therefore was the point selected for an attack, if such a measure should prove necessary. But wishing to mark the cause which had led them to select Odessa as the object of their first demonstration, on the morning of the 21st the Admirals sent in a joint summons to the Governor requiring that, as an atonement for the insult offered to the flag of truce, all the English and French ships in the Mole should be sent out, and all the Russian ships surrendered, and announcing their intention, if this demand should not be complied with, of exacting reparation by force. No answer of any kind was given ; and accordingly, on the evening of the 21st, Dundas and the French Admiral Hamelin arranged the plan of attack upon the batteries and the Imperial Mole, to be made at daybreak the next morning. As the steamers drew far less water than the ships of the line, its execution was committed to them, and at four o'clock on the morning of the 22nd Captain Jones of the Sampson, with the Terrible, Tiger, Retribution and Furious, and the Mogador, Vauban, and Descartes belonging to our allies, all being alike under his command, stood in and opened his fire.

It was now for the first time seen how great an assistance steam brought to a force engaged in an attack of this kind. Hitherto ships engaged in such a conflict had invariably anchored before they opened their fire, and had consequently presented to the enemy's batteries a mark as steady as themselves ; but now the Sampson and her squadron, after delivering their broadsides, steamed rapidly onwards, wheeled round in a short circle, and again stood in, repeating their cannonade, and quickly again passing out of shot. They advanced in relays, two engaging the forts at a time, so as to give the enemy no rest ; had they been stationary they would have suffered severely, for the Russian guns were numerous, heavy, and admirably

served, many of them with red-hot shot: and the Vauban was struck and set on fire, so that she was compelled to withdraw. The frigate *Arethusa* too, though a sailing-vessel, took a lesson from the manœuvres of the steamers. When the attack had been continued for some time without producing any visible effect, so great was the solidity of the Russian works, she was ordered to stand in and create a diversion by attacking the Mole on its southern side. Captain Mends received the command with alacrity, and, approaching as near the shore as the shallowness of the water would permit, opened a heavy fire from his 8-inch shell guns; which was returned from the nearest batteries with both shot and shell. As he too had not anchored, but kept on the move, no shot touched him: but, Dundas, not being aware of this, but thinking the fire too heavy for any single frigate to withstand, signalled to him to retire; he obeyed, but, as soon as he was out of shot tacked again, and approaching the batteries more nearly than before, renewed his cannonade with great effect; and again repeated his manœuvres, standing off out of the reach of the enemy's fire, and standing in to deliver his own, till the Admiral, alarmed for his safety, finally recalled him, and summoning him on board the flagship, gave him warm praise for his skilful and successful gallantry. Presently some of our gunboats with rockets were added to the attacking force; and at last, a little before noon, signs that our cannonade had not been without effect began to be seen in the flames which burst out from the fort at the end of the Mole, and from different parts of the works and storehouses which had been most exposed. At one o'clock the fort blew up with a terrible explosion; the rest of the batteries, most of which were now in flames, discontinued their fire; and Captain Jones brought his squadron closer in to attack the shipping behind the Mole. Its destruction was easy and rapid. Many of the vessels were sunk by our guns;

others took fire ; and the conflagration lasted throughout the night, and the greater part of the next day. The trading-vessels under the Quarantine Mole and the unarmed part of the town were spared ; but the batteries, the Imperial docks and port, the barracks, and the abundant supplies of ammunition and military stores of all kinds accumulated in the Government storehouses were utterly destroyed.

Nor was the benefit derived to the allies from this achievement limited to the destruction of these stores ; in its indirect effect it had an important influence on the whole war, since a Russian army of forty thousand men, which was at that time in the district, but which in the course of the next eighteen months was urgently required in other places, was detained here by the fear of some similar exploit which might leave the whole country, if undefended, at the mercy of assailants so bold and skilful. The loss of the French had been trifling ; our own did not exceed one man killed and twelve wounded ; that of the Russians must have been very great ; but it did not dishearten them, for, when, on the 23rd, the Admiral sent in the *Fury* to reconnoitre the town closely, and ascertain the extent of the damage inflicted, Captain Tatham saw a body of men busily employed in erecting new earthworks to replace those which had been destroyed. A few shells accurately thrown however dispersed the working party, and the repair of the fortifications was postponed till it could be carried on without attracting the notice of so vigilant an enemy.

Before he withdrew his fleet, Admiral Dundas proposed to the Russian Governor to exchange some prisoners, who had already fallen into the hands of some of his cruisers, for the crews of two or three English vessels which had been in the port on his arrival, and had been seized by the Russian authorities. General Osten Sacken had no authority to make such an arrangement ; but he had soon



an opportunity of showing that he was not destitute of feelings of humanity which would have led him at once to agree to it, had he conceived it to be in his power. In spite, however, of his refusal, as the prisoners whom we had taken belonged entirely to merchant-vessels, we, acting in the same spirit in which we had spared the undefended part of the town of Odessa, returned them without making any conditions; and, not to be outdone in the race of generosity, the Czar sent an order for the release of the English vessels which had been detained.

The bulk of the fleet quitted Odessa on the 26th, but one or two vessels were still left to cruise up and down the adjacent coast, where they made some prizes, but were often endangered by the almost ceaseless fogs which prevailed; and on the 12th of May, the *Tiger*, enveloped in one, ran aground off Cape Fontan, a headland about four miles to the south of Odessa. Her situation was perceived by a body of Russian troops, who speedily brought a battery of field-guns to bear upon her, and assailed her at the same time with an incessant fire of musketry. Captain Giffard was ill in his bed when his vessel first struck; but in spite of a severe fever, he came on deck the moment that the disaster occurred, and was busy giving directions for getting her off, when a round-shot broke both his thighs. Several more of his men were struck down by a fire which their position gave them no means of returning; and at last, finding it impossible to get their ship off, they set her on fire, and hauled down their colours. The enemy had hardly removed the crew on shore, when the *Vesuvius* and *Niger* hove in sight, bore down to try and assist their comrades, and opened their fire on the Russian troops, but they were too late. Soon the *Tiger* blew up; and they retired. The Russians made a generous use of the opportunity thus afforded them, and treated the prisoners and the wounded with the most considerate humanity. Captain

Giffard himself sank under his wounds ; but the rest of his crew declared that, if they had been wrecked upon their own coast among their own countrymen, they could not have received greater attention and kindness than was now bestowed upon them by their enemies.

The main body of the fleet, as has been already stated, set sail on the 26th, and crossed over to Sebastopol. We had obtained later information respecting the state of the harbour than had been supplied by Captain Drummond, through the audacious address of Captain Tatham, who, ten days before, had disguised the *Fury* like an Austrian packet ; had approached the harbour at dawn on the 15th, running inside two brigs of war, which were stationed as sentries just off the entrance ; and then, having ascertained the strength of the fleet within the harbour, had put his head round, and steamed deliberately out to sea, hoisting British colours, and capturing a Russian schooner and carrying it off under the very eyes of the sentry brigs. They, however, with some frigates from the harbour, weighed and chased him, and compelled him to cast off the prize which he had taken in tow ; but he had removed her crew into his own ship, and from the master, who was an Austrian by birth, much valuable information was acquired of the amount and condition of the naval and military force at that time in the Crimea. On the 28th the fleet reached the shores of the Crimea ; one or two small vessels were seized, more from a desire to obtain intelligence from them than because they were of any value ; and at daybreak on the 29th the *Arctusa* was sent to stand as close in to Sebastopol as might be done with safety, to reconnoitre the position and strength of the Russian fleet. Captain Mendis counted three three-deckers, seven two-deckers, four frigates, half-a-dozen smaller vessels, and further in he could perceive the mastheads of four more large ships, apparently of the line,\* but of whose precise

\* After Sebastopol was taken Captain Mendis's estimate was found to be

force he could not speak with certainty. A day or two later, Sir Edmund Lyons himself stood in in the Agamemnon, and confirmed the report of Captain Mends; and, as the Russian fleet was thus ascertained to be but little inferior to that of the allies, hopes were entertained that they would advance and give us battle, rather than endure the shame of being blockaded in their own harbour.

To encourage them the more, one English and one French ship, the *Vengeance* and the *Superbe*, were detached from the main body, and charged to keep out of sight of land, that the Russians might be led to suppose our force not more powerful than their own, and so be the more easily induced to come out and fight; and the hope of a battle was confirmed when, a day or two afterwards, the Russians were seen to set up their topgallantmasts, and to cross their topgallantyards, as if preparing for such a step. But if their Admiral had ever entertained this intention, he soon abandoned it; and, after a time, seeing that he was not to be tempted, the allied fleets dispersed, the main body returning to its old anchorage in Kavarna Bay.\* Sir E. Lyons, with a small squadron, once more proceeded to the eastward to reconnoitre the shores of Georgia and Circassia, having also a charge to confer with some of the Circassian chiefs, who had long been carrying on war with Russia; and, if possible, to concert with them some attacks on the enemy's strongholds in that quarter. He found Soujak and Anapa, near the western point of the province of Caucasus, both strongly fortified, and would willingly have co-operated with Schamyl or his lieutenants in an attack upon those places, had the

---

most minutely correct: these four were all ships of the line, mounting, like the other seven, eighty-four guns each. Of the frigates none had fewer than fifty-four guns.

\* In some works the main station of the fleet is called Baltchik. Baltchik Bay and Kavarna Bay are close together, and may be looked on as parts of the same bay.

Circassian warrior felt in a condition to undertake such an enterprise; but the forts on the eastern coast he found entirely abandoned, except Redoute Kaleh; there he summoned the Russian garrison to surrender, and, on receiving a refusal, opened a fire from the *Agamemnon* on their batteries. The garrison retreated, but first set fire both to the forts and to the town; and, finding nothing more to do, Sir E. Lyons rejoined the Commander-in-chief. Meanwhile, a few of the smaller vessels cruised about, making numbers of prizes, and in fact, as Lyons said, sweeping the Black Sea with a broom, and clearing it of every vessel but their own.

Thus passed June, July, and August, with but little to vary them, as far as the fleet was concerned. The British and French armies began to arrive, and frequent and anxious discussions took place as to the quarter and the manner in which they should be employed. Once, indeed, the monotony of the long inaction was varied by a dashing attack made on the 28th of June by Captain Hyde Parker in the *Firebrand*, with the assistance of the *Fury*, in which he destroyed a number of heavy batteries at the Sulina mouth of the Danube; completing his task ten days later, and destroying a large portion of Sulina itself, though the success of this second enterprise was dimmed by his own fall in the moment of victory. It was the middle of July before the plan of the military operations was finally settled. The English Commander-in-chief, was Lord Raglan, better known as Lord Fitzroy Somerset, the trusted friend of the lately lost and still lamented Wellington, the courteous and popular Secretary at the Horse-Guards; and if many distrusted his military experience, or denied that he had ever had even the slightest opportunity of becoming acquainted with the science of practical war, of learning how to handle troops in a campaign, or in a battle, no one could refuse him the credit of some of the highest qualities of a British nobleman, of being endowed,

in an eminent degree, with that union of courtesy and firmness, and that almost indescribable quality which we commonly call tact, which is nearly as requisite as military skill to the commander-in-chief of one division of an allied army; and which, in effect, combined as it also was with a dauntless courage, a perfect unselfishness, and a pure patriotism, won for us many a success that a higher military genius, unaccompanied with those virtues, might probably have failed to achieve. The chief of the French army was Marshal St. Arnaud: a man who, in Algeria, had indeed had more recent experience of fields of battle than his British colleague, but who was already in failing health. They had almost decided on opening the campaign in Bulgaria, where a large Russian army was wasting its strength before the unconquered walls of Silistria, and where an Austrian force might be expected to co-operate with them; when, in the middle of July, they learnt that the Russians had raised the siege and recrossed the Danube; and at almost the same time they received peremptory orders from their own Governments to invade the Crimea. The Generals could only obey, perhaps they did not disapprove the enterprise; but since to march thither by land was obviously impossible, it became necessary to seek the aid and advice of the Admirals; and they agreed in foreboding ill of the expedition. Dundas indeed, less desponding than his French colleague, was willing to undertake to convey the army to the shores of the Crimea, but not to make himself responsible for supplying it when there, nor for bringing it back in safety in the event of its meeting with any disaster; though the difficulties which he foresaw, were only such as were likely to strike a man whose acquaintance with the Euxine was limited to a single winter and spring, seasons during which frequent fogs of unusual thickness disagreeably diversify the dangers from storms which it shares with other seas. Fortunately Sir E. Lyons had a

more intimate knowledge of the region in which the campaign, as now resolved on, was to be carried on. In former years he had been employed in surveying the whole of the Black Sea. No part of it, nor of its character, was unknown to him ; and he had also learnt from some of our agents and consuls, that there were still three months during which the weather might be expected to prove favorable for military and naval operations ; more favorable, indeed, than the corresponding months of the spring. He saw no difficulties, his energy caused those that were at first seen by others gradually to vanish from their minds ; and, as the Commander-in-chief entrusted to him the arrangements to be made for the transport of the troops, he began to apply his mind to perfecting the details, with as much diligence as the other calls upon his time would allow him to devote to them. For, in addition to his appointment as second-in-command of the fleet, he was invested with a certain degree of diplomatic authority ; and in an expedition of so complicated a character, in which three fleets and three armies were to be employed, no small amount of time was of necessity devoted to councils and conferences, which, however useful and even indispensable to the smoothing of difficulties, could have but little visible effect on the management of the details of the coming campaign.

In the meantime one small detachment from the British fleet successfully performed a service which, by the facilities it gave the Turks for operations, on the north side of the Danube, greatly contributed to distract the attention of the Russians, and to compel them to keep a strong force in that district. The moment that their army under Prince Gortschakoff had retired from the siege of Silistria, Omar Pacha became desirous to pursue them ; but the Danube lay in his way, and to bridge so large and rapid a river was a task beyond the powers of the Turkish engineers. In fact, it was one which, though the Russians had several

times set them the example, they had never once attempted ; now, however, Omar applied for aid to the British Commanders at Varna, and they at once sent him a small body of one midshipman, Prince Ernest of Leiningen, and thirty picked seamen from the *Britannia*, under the command of Lieutenant Glyn of that ship, with an equal force of sappers under Captain Bent, R.E., overland to Rustchuk, the place which Omar had selected for his bridge ; and where Hassan Pacha was at that time lying with 40,000 men. Leicestershire sportsmen have a proverb which is not favorable to the skill of sailors on horseback ; and to men unused to the saddle the march of 200 miles across Bulgaria, which had to be performed on unbroken horses, was probably not the easiest part of the undertaking : but they pressed on at the rate of nearly fifty miles a day, and in the second week of July reached Rustchuk. Hassan placed at Glyn's disposal a few gunboats and armed schooners with their crews, and the British officers at once set to work. Opposite to Rustchuk, on the northern or Bulgarian side of the river, is the town of Giurgevo, which the Russian General Sormonoff was holding with 12,000 men, to cover the retreat of the main army. In front of the town, and separated from it only by a shallow marshy creek, lies the island of Slobenzie which was connected with the mainland by a trestle bridge ; and the first requisite was to obtain possession of this island. Fortunately the batteries at Rustchuk were placed sufficiently high to command the river, while the ground on the northern side is marshy and unsuited to the operations of artillery. Favoured by this circumstance Hassan threw a body of Turks across the stream to Slobenzie, Glyn supporting him with the fire of his flotilla, and, after a severe struggle in which he sustained a loss of 1200 men, Sormonoff fell back, and the Turks occupied the island. The next morning Omar himself arrived from Schumla, and took the command, and Glyn, undertaking

to transport him and a division of his army across the river, and to cover their landing, made himself master of Giurgevo, and speedily with the aid of his British allies, fortified it so securely, that, though Gortschakoff, returning when he received the news, brought nearly 60,000 men to recover it, he was successfully repulsed; and Glyn now proceeded to make his bridge, selecting for his materials fifty-two of the large vessels used by the inhabitants of the district for the conveyance of corn. The Russians, who saw the great importance of the work, made vigorous exertions to hinder it, contriving, though not without great difficulty, to bring down some field artillery to their bank of the river, from which they daily kept up a ceaseless fire on the men employed in mooring the corn-boats. Even without any interruption from them, the size and force of the stream was such as to make it a most difficult achievement; for the river at this point is nearly three-quarters of a mile wide, no where less than four fathoms in depth, and runs nearly five miles an hour; while to these impediments was added the hardness of the soil beneath, and the unfitness of the Turkish anchors, which were so light that Glyn was obliged to apply to Omar for means to strengthen them. The Pacha gave him some old iron 18-pounder guns which were lying at Rustchuk, scarcely, indeed, half as many as he wanted; but sufficient, with the aid of a seaman's ingenuity, to serve his purpose. He bored out their vents, and so passing a chain through their entire length, then lashing them to heavy teak spars, and to each end of these spars fastening the hawser of one anchor, so that each gun reinforced two anchors, was thus enabled to add sufficient weight to them to enable them to stem the current above the bridge. It was a novel idea, but it succeeded perfectly; and, when a few vessels were seen to be securely fixed, the Russians withdrew; in three weeks the whole fifty-two vessels were firmly moored head and stern twenty yards apart, the space between them was planked over, the bridge was completed, and



Omar, crossing it with 80,000 men, speedily reaped its first fruits in the capture of Bucharest, which he made his head-quarters for some months; nor were the services of the sailors terminated with the completion of the bridge. At the request of Omar, they sailed, on their return, down the river as far as Silistria in the gunboats, and on their way destroyed the Copack forts along the river, thus wresting the command of the whole stream down to that fortress from the enemy, and giving it to the Turks. At Silistria they resumed their horses, and crossing the Dobruschka, rejoined the fleet, where Lieutenant Glyn received the warm praises of his Admiral, and presently also from England the more substantial reward of promotion to the rank of Commander; Prince Ernest too, was made a Lieutenant, while the Sultan showed his appreciation by conferring medals on them and on every seaman of the detachment.

During these months troops from England and France kept flocking to Varna, and the fleet was lying secure in the adjacent bays, while not a single Russian ship ventured to show itself in any part of the Black Sea, when a calamity fell upon both fleet and army, unexpected alike by the commanders and by the authorities at home, though it was afterwards learnt that those who knew the unhealthiness of the whole region at that season of the year, considered it but an ordinary occurrence. A fierce disease, partaking of the nature of cholera, attacked the whole of the combined forces both at sea and on shore. The flagship alone lost a hundred men; and at last, as such a step seemed to afford the best chance of removing the sailors from the contagion, Dundas weighed anchor, and stood for some days out to sea. As the extreme heat of midsummer passed away the disorder diminished, and by the middle of August the main part of both fleet and army was again fit for service, and both began to prepare energetically for the enterprise on which all their efforts were to be concentrated, the invasion of the Crimea.

The fleet was ready before the army. Transports had been bought, hired, and built for the conveyance of troops across the water; huge rafts had been constructed as landing platforms; and by the beginning of September, the army was ready too. Once more, immediately after the invasion of the Crimea had been decided on, Lyons had, in person, reconnoitred the whole of its western coast, going thither in the *Fury*, accompanied by the greater part of the military staff; at one time steering the little vessel himself so close to the coast that some of his companions could with the naked eye see a gunner in one of the Russian batteries taking deliberate aim at the party; and the accuracy of his observation was disagreeably verified by two or three shots piercing the ship's side. After a careful examination, he himself recommended the mouth of the *Katchka*, a river only four or five miles to the north of Sebastopol, as the landing-place: but considerations connected with the probable movements of the army caused Lord Raglan to overrule this recommendation, and a spot to the north of the river *Bulgarak* was finally selected. At last, on the 7th of September, our part of the expedition weighed anchor, quitted Varna Roads, and set sail for the object on which all hearts had been fixed for the last two months. It had been intended to start a day or two earlier, and, in fact, the French had sailed on the 5th; but Admiral Dundas was so thoroughly averse to the expedition, that he delayed moving our squadron till the last moment, from some expectation that orders would yet come from England to countermand it. On the 7th, however, Sir Edmund Lyons prevailed on him to delay no longer; and the next day he overtook M. Hamelin, who had lain to to wait for him.

It was a splendid force that he was thus conveying to invade Russia, a country on which no British army had yet ever set its foot. Twenty-seven thousand infantry, a

thousand cavalry, and sixty guns were the contingent which we supplied. A hundred and fifty transports conveyed them; and to embark and disembark such a force in safety was a work of no small labour and skill. This task had been entrusted by the Commander-in-chief to Sir Edmund Lyons, who again had confided the details of the arrangements to Captain Mends, who had lately exchanged the *Arethusa* for the *Agamemnon*; and both officers had laboured at their task with exemplary assiduity, more than once making both fleet and army rehearse by detachments the entire operation, so that now, when it was to be executed in earnest, not a man in either service was ignorant of the exact part in it which he was expected to perform.

The preparations of the French were far less complete in some important respects. They were so scantily provided with transports, that a very large portion of their troops were embarked on board their men-of-war; an arrangement that caused great inconvenience to both soldiers and sailors, and that rendered the men-of-war for the time wholly useless as such, in the event, which could not be deemed improbable, of the Russian fleet attacking the expedition on its passage. The honour, therefore, of protecting the whole armament devolved on the English men-of-war; a gallant squadron of ten sail of the line, two frigates, and a dozen war-steamers. Our own transports moved in five columns of thirty vessels each, at a steady rate of four miles and half an hour. And when they joined the French and Turkish flotillas, the whole was formed into one vast armada; the largest, when the size of many of the vessels which formed a part of it is taken into consideration, that had ever been seen in the world. From the masthead of the *Agamemnon*, four hundred and twelve vessels could be counted moving in perfect order, and in a north-easterly direction; the spot appointed for the rendezvous of the whole being nearly in a line between the mouth of the Danube and Cape Tarkan, the westernmost point of the

Crimean peninsula, from which it would be easy to drop down upon the coast. On the evening of the 9th they came in sight of land, and the next day Lord Raglan and his staff in the *Caradoc*, and escorted by the *Agamemnon*, the *Sampson*, and the French steamer *Primauguet*, went down to take one more look at Sebastopol and the adjacent country. Having completed their survey, they proceeded leisurely up the coast, once more examined the proposed landing-places, and fixed upon a spot marked by an old fort, about twelve miles south of Eupatoria; and on the 11th they rejoined the fleet. The English portion was as compact as ever, but the French were in great disorder, having been scattered by a squall of wind; and, on the morning of the 11th, our squadron was forced to round to off Cape Tarkan to wait for our allies, of whom a single ship was all that was visible. By night, however, the whole armada was reunited. The next evening it reached Eupatoria, which, on the 13th, surrendered at the first summons; and before daybreak on the 14th, the armada dropped down to Old Fort, and the combined force at once began to land; the British not taking the exact spot originally marked out for them, but one a little to the north of it, where a slightly projecting headland served to mark more clearly the landing-places for the two armies. The Admiral, with the larger portion of the fleet, stood off at some distance from the shore, so as to command a view of the whole coast as far as Sebastopol; a single frigate, the *Arethusa*, took its station off that harbour itself, to watch for any movement of the Russian fleet; and Sir Edmund Lyons stood in in five fathoms water with the inshore squadron to cover the disembarkation, and to protect the troops in the event of any attempt being made by the Russians to take them at a disadvantage. No hindrance, however, was offered, though some mounted police and one or two military officers were seen observing us from the hills in the background; and before night the whole of the British infantry, and half

the artillery were landed on Russian ground without the slightest injury to a single man or a single gun. The horses did not fare quite so well ; in the course of the afternoon the wind freshened, and a heavy swell set in, which damaged some of the rafts which had been constructed for their use : and in consequence, a few chargers were thrown into the sea, and one or two were drowned. Their loss, however, was the only mishap which occurred that day ; and the main body of the cavalry, and the rest of the artillery, remained on board the transports till the 15th, when the wind had abated ; and then they, too, were disembarked in perfect safety. The greater part of the labour of their conveyance to land, as of that of the stores, ammunition, provisions, carts, waggons, and baggage of the army fell upon the sailors, and their untiring energy and skilful management filled all who beheld it with admiration.\* At last, by mid-day of the 18th, everything was landed, and in high spirits the army prepared for its march towards Sebastopol ; the fleet being also ready to sail along the coast by their side, and protect their flank.

In the glory of the great battle that ensued the fleet can hardly be said to have had a share. The *Vesuvius*, indeed, with three French steamers, the *Megère*, the *Cacique*, and the *Primauguet*, got an opportunity at one time to throw some shells on the left flank of the Russians, which in some degree covered the French *Zouaves* in their advance, but no other ships fired a gun ; and it belongs to another pen to describe the irresistible vivacity of the French attack, and the still more formidable, unflinching steadiness of the British advance, before which, after an obstinate struggle, the Russian host was scattered, and with fearful loss hurled back upon the town which it had vainly hoped to prevent

\* "They never relaxed their efforts as long as man or horse of the expedition remained to be landed: and many of them, officers as well as men, were twenty-four hours in their boats."—Russell's 'British Expedition to the Crimea,' p. 112,

the invaders from approaching. To the sailors, proud as they were of the heroism of their countrymen, the triumph which had been won was fraught with disappointment; for, before they arrived off Sebastopol, they learnt that all chance of a victory for themselves, such as they had been for months anticipating, was at an end; for that Prince Menschikoff, under whose command the whole force of the peninsula, naval as well as military, was placed, seeing that he must now submit to be blockaded on the landward side by the army, and not knowing what might not be expected from the audacity of our sailors, had come to the extraordinary resolution of sinking the front line of his own fleet at the entrance of the harbour; and our look-out ships could see the Russian masts slowly descending beneath the waves, as if the bottom of the sea were the only refuge for an enemy from a British sailor. In such a hurry was this singular piece of pusillanimity carried out, that the ships were actually scuttled with everything on board; and for days the surface of the sea was covered with pieces of furniture, articles of ornament, stores, and even powder-cases, which floated by our squadron, and were picked up and preserved as trophies by our men.

It failed, however, wholly to protect him from our seamen, who, fully sharing with their brethren of the army their expectations of the early fall of the place, were resolved to have a share in the honour. In former wars they had shown that they could fight on shore as well as on sea; and, as it was now manifest that there would be but little work for them on their own element, a naval brigade on a scale of unprecedented strength was at once organised, and placed under the command of Captain Lushington of the Albion. A thousand and fifty-five men were drafted from the different ships; fifty heavy guns were also landed; and, without any help from the engineers, the seamen constructed their own batteries, and were ready to make the enemy feel their effect before half the guns belonging to the army had

been got into position. The French followed our example, and furnished thirty guns, and above a thousand men from their fleet, under Captain Rigault de Genouilly, of the *Ville de Paris*. And, though service on shore had not been as common in their fleet as in ours, the military spirit of their nation enabled their seamen to perform it with great efficiency, and their batteries were not the worst served in the French lines.

At last the preparations of the soldiers also were completed, and on the evening of the 16th of October, the generals and admirals of the allied forces concerted their plans for a double bombardment of the besieged town the next day. The whole of both fleets was to co-operate, the French taking the southern side of the harbour, that which was nearest to the army; the English fleet having the attack of the north side allotted to it, where was the heaviest battery of all, Fort Constantine, commanding both sea and harbour with a hundred and four enormous guns; another, the Telegraph Battery with seventeen guns, was placed on a hill of such height that, while its own shot plunged with unresisting effect into any enemy on the sea below it, it could yet hardly be reached by the guns of our ships. A third was the Star Fort, which, in the conflict that ensued, by its stinging effects, earned from our seamen the name of the Wasp. And a fourth was a strong earthwork on a cliff, mounting twenty heavy guns, fortunately placed so far back from the edge, that they could not be depressed sufficiently to strike our ships below the topmasts. At the urgent request of the French Admiral, the *Britannia* took the station nearest to the French line: so near, indeed, that she was almost fouled by the *Charlemagne*; and an inshore squadron, consisting of the *Agamemnon*, *Sans-pareil*, and *London*, to which one or two other ships were afterwards added, was placed under the command of Sir Edmund Lyons. And this arrangement was not displeasing to Lyons or his men. A fortnight before, when a rumour



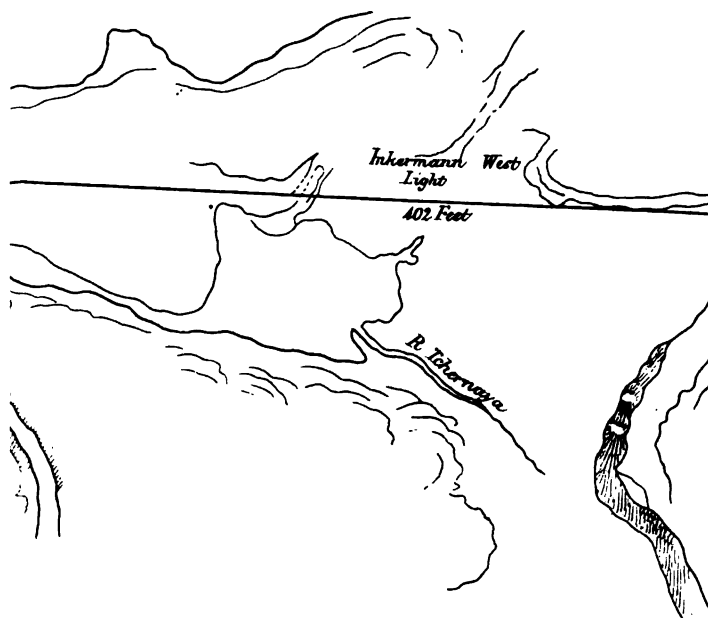


# KRIMEA.

## English Ships

## French and Turkish Ships

- A Agamemnon: from 1.30 to 5.10 P.M.
- B Sans Pareil: from 2.4 to 4 P.M. and from 4.30 to 5.10 P.M.
- C London: from 2.10 to 4 P.M.
- D Arethusa
- E Albion
- F Britannia from 2.30 to 5 P.M.
- G Trafalgar
- H Vengeance
- I Rodney
- K Bellerophon
- L Queen
- M Lynce
- N Sphynx: from 2 to 5.10 P.M.
- O Spitfire
- P Sampson
- Q Terrible
- R Tribune
- S Rodney in 2<sup>nd</sup> Position: from 5 to 5.50 aground
- T.T. French and Turkish Ships opened fire at 7.12 P.M.



had reached them that an attack was to be made which was to be led by the Albion, the whole crew of the Agamemnon had gone in a body to Captain Mends to remonstrate against the injustice which would be done to them if they were deprived of the post of honour which had hitherto been conceded to them. They were willingly promised that they should not be left out when anything was to be done; the promise was now about to be fulfilled, and every man on board felt himself personally bound to show that he was worthy to have asked and to have received it. Except the Victory herself, there was no more honoured name in the British Navy List than the Agamemnon. The old Agamemnon had been Nelson's ship at Corsica, and in Hotham's action; and one of his favourite captains had followed him in her to his fatal victory at Trafalgar; but, renowned as the old ship was, none could deny that she had a worthy successor to her name, who now beheld Sir Edmund leading his squadron in her under the walls of Fort Constantine, and, as he passed, giving and receiving from the other forts a fire such as, in the days of Nelson, no one had ever dreamt of. In one sense, indeed, she could not be said to lead her division; for the depth of water was unknown, and in front of her went, as her guide, the little steam-tender Circassia, commanded by a second-master named Edward Ball, who, young as he was, displayed a coolness which a veteran might have envied. He had volunteered for the service; and though the Admiral warned him that his vessel must, in all probability, be sunk by the enemy's fire, and that all that he should be able to do for him would be to keep a boat ready to save him and his crew when she went down, he did not flinch from his offer; and in discharge of it, amid a perfect storm of shot and shell, sounding as he went, till a shot from the batteries cut the line out of the leadsman's hand, piloted the flagship behind him into her position. Towards the shore the water

shoaled rapidly, and the *Agamemnon* could not approach nearer than about seven hundred and fifty yards from Fort Constantine, where she brought up in five fathoms water ; and at about two o'clock she opened her fire. She was followed by the *London*, *Sans-pareil*, and *Albion*, which were unable to get quite as close as herself ; but which their greater distance exposed to a heavier fire than she at first sustained. For the Russians, not having reckoned on so near an approach as the flagship had made, had laid their guns for a longer range ; and for some time their shot struck only the masts and rigging of the *Agamemnon*, but fell heavily on the hulls of her followers, which were about two hundred yards further back. She was aided, too, at first by good fortune ; since one of the first shells she fired fell upon a powder-magazine in the fort, which blew up with a loud explosion. The garrison were for a few minutes so dismayed that they ceased firing altogether ; and though after a few minutes they regained their courage, and returned to their guns, they found that a great portion of them had been disabled, and likewise that the chief part of their ammunition was destroyed. With the guns that remained, however, they renewed their cannonade ; and the earthworks on the cliffs, and some on the south side of the harbour also, had by this time got the range of the *Agamemnon* and her consorts, and their shot told upon these ships with great effect. When they had been exposed to this concentrated fire for something more than an hour, the *Albion* and *London*, severely shattered, hauled off to a greater distance ; the *Sans-pareil* too, which at first had anchored so close astern of the *Agamemnon* as to be unable to use her foremost guns, drew off to take up a better berth ; and their retreat re-animated the Russians, who, having now only the *Agamemnon* to think of, poured their shot upon her with terrible precision. Presently the *Sans-pareil* and *Albion* returned ; but as the *London* was apparently unable

to do so, Lyons signalled to some of the rest to close up, and the Rodney, Queen, Bellerophon and Arethusa bore down to his support. The Queen was almost immediately set on fire by a shell, and was towed out again; the Rodney, as she came in, grounded under the immediate fire of one of the batteries; but, even while on shore she kept up a steady fire on Fort Constantine, under whose guns she was lying: at last, by the exertions of her own crew and that of the Spitfire, she was got off; and then she joined her comrades in a tremendous cannonade which they kept up till nearly dusk, when the Agamemnon drew off, and the whole squadron fell back to a greater distance, though not so far but that for some time longer they still threw occasional broadsides into the fort. Our loss had been heavy, forty-four killed, and two hundred and sixty-six wounded; and two of our ships, the Albion and the Arethusa, had received such injuries in both masts and hull, that the Admiral judged it necessary to send them to Malta to be repaired. The loss of the French was lighter. They lost fewer than two hundred men killed and wounded; but they had more ships disabled. The Russian loss was understood to have by far exceeded that of both the allies; and few were sorry to hear that Admiral Nachimoff, the commander who had perpetrated the massacre at Sinope, was among those who had fallen.

The cannonade of the army had been equally vigorous, sustained, and effective, and the Naval Brigade had borne its full part both in the labours undergone, and the services performed; in fact, the destruction of the Malakoff Tower, which had been effected, was entirely owing to the fire of a battery of heavy ship guns drawn from the Terrible and Retribution, while that furnished by the Diamond, under the command of Captain W. Peel, shared with the Artillery the honour of having silenced the Redan. The enemy showed their appreciation of the power of their fire, by continually directing their heaviest cannonade against

them, which made the brigade's losses very heavy ; but which also, as the siege proceeded, afforded several opportunities for displays of individual bravery. One of the most conspicuous instances of which, combined with a judgment beyond his years, was displayed by a young mate named Hewett. On the 26th he was in command of a single Lancaster gun, when a body of Russians advanced, threatening to take his battery in reverse. The officer on guard sent him word by a sergeant to spike his gun and retreat, but he refused to obey the order, as not coming from his own captain : and presently, when the enemy had been repulsed by the 49th, Mr. Hewett threw down his parapet on one side, and, bringing his gun round to bear on their retreating column, poured in his fire on it with great effect.

But the first bombardment had in no place succeeded in breaching the walls ; and the principal result of the attack that had been made had been to show that the reduction of the place would require more time than had originally been anticipated. It had been also proved, creditable as had been the exertions of the fleet, that no damage that could be inflicted on the sea-face of the defences could be productive of any effect on the issue of the siege till the army had made a decisive impression on the works in its front, and consequently the operations of that day were not for many months again renewed on the same scale ; and the task of the ships in front of Sebastopol was limited to the maintenance of a rigorous blockade.

The winter sets in early on the coast of the Crimea, and this year it seemed as if the Black Sea was resolved to show that it deserved all that the ancients had reported of its stormy inhospitable character. On the 13th a violent storm passed over Constantinople, doing an almost unprecedented amount of damage to the Grand Mosque and others of the public buildings : and the next day, still coming up from the south-west, it fell upon the combined fleets with prodigious fury. The British men-of-war rode it

out gallantly: most of them finding their steam of great service, since, by keeping their engines going, they were able to ease the strain on their cables. The Retribution, indeed, was forced to cut away her masts; and the Sampson, at the Katchka, lost hers by two of the transports running foul of her; but with these exceptions, none sustained any serious injury. But the transports, with a number of merchant-vessels, which were still in attendance on the army, were less fortunate. They had at one time been in shelter in Balaklava Bay; but had been sent out in consequence of Lord Raglan having conceived the idea of removing his army from its present position; that plan the earnest remonstrance of Sir E. Lyons had fortunately induced him to abandon: but, as Admiral Dundas was absent, no one had authority to send the merchant-vessels back to the harbours from which his order had brought them out. Many of their Captains had addressed earnest entreaties to Captain Christie, the superintending agent, either to allow them to put out to sea, or else to send them into harbour: at all events not to keep them exposed in a dangerous roadstead at a time of year when storms might with certainty be anticipated sooner or later; but he had apparently doubted his power to comply with their request without a reference to the Admiral, so they remained where they were. Seldom has a scene of greater confusion been beheld: the greater part of the flotilla was driven about in helpless distress; some foundered before they reached land; others were dashed against the rocks, and were lost with all on board; others ran ashore and were plundered by the Cossacks, who rushed eagerly down to the scene of disaster; while the crews had to fight the fierce Lancers for their lives and liberty, too seldom coming off with success. One superb steamer, the Prince, which had arrived from England only a day or two before, with a reinforcement of troops, and a vast cargo of supplies of all kinds, ammunition, provisions, medicines, and winter clothing for the

troops, struck on the most rocky part of the whole coast, near Balaklava. The soldiers had luckily been already landed ; but the whole of her cargo, and nearly all her crew, to the number of a hundred and fifty men, were lost without the possibility of an attempt being made to save them. As the gale abated, boats from some of the ships of the line pulled into shore, and brought off many of the wrecked crews, while the Firebrand dispersed their Cossack assailants by one or two well directed broadsides ; but, in spite of all the exertions that could be made, when, on the abatement of the storm, the losses came to be ascertained, they presented a fearful list. Above forty vessels and four hundred men had been lost : and the stores in the Prince were so urgently needed by the army, on which an unbroken series of mismanagement was inflicting unparalleled hardship, that the loss of life among the soldiers which was traceable to their destruction probably exceeded that sustained at the moment by the fleet. Our allies suffered even more severely than ourselves. One Turkish line-of-battle ship went down with all hands. And the French, who were lying on the western side of the peninsular, between the mouth of the Katcha and Eupatoria, lost one of their finest line-of-battle ships, *Le Henry IV.*, a fine corvette, *Le Pluton*, and nearly a score of their smaller vessels.

Precautions were taken against a repetition of such a calamity : the transports were sent back to Buyukdere in the Bosphorus ; some of the fleet retired to Constantinople ; and of the larger ships, only the *Agamemnon*, *Rodney*, *Vengeance*, *Bellerophon*, and *Sans-pareil*, remained to watch the enemy during the winter months. At Christmas, too, Admiral Dundas struck his flag and returned home. He was an elderly man of failing health ; when the war broke out he was Commander-in-chief of the Mediterranean fleet, and though he felt his strength unequal to discharge the duties of such a post in time of

war, a feeling of honour forbade him to retire at a moment when such a step might have been misinterpreted into a desire to avoid personal danger. But his withdrawal now could subject him to no such imputation ; and he requested leave to return home. Sir Edmund Lyons was appointed to succeed him, and the fleet hailed with delight the appointment to the command of a leader in whom from the first they had placed their chief reliance, and for whom every day that had since passed, and every event that had taken place, had increased their admiration and their confidence.

In the Black Sea the fleet was generally regarded only as an appendage in the army ; and the force on which the nation rested its chief expectation of naval glory was that which was sent to the Baltic.\* There lay the principal forts and arsenals of Russia, and her most powerful fleet ;

\* The fleet was composed of the following ships, though they did not all sail from Spithead with the Admiral, several of them joining him after he reached the Baltic.

† Sailing ships ; ‡ Block ships ; § Paddle-steamers ; the remainder screw-vessels.  
N.B. The blockships were all screw-vessels of inferior steam power.

131	Duke of Wellington	{ Vice-Admiral Sir C. Napier. Commodore M. Seymour. Captain G. Gordon.
120	{ †Neptune . . . . . †St. George . . . . . Royal George . . . . .	{ Rear-Admiral Corry. Captain Hutton. Captain Eyres. Captain H. Codrington.
101	St. Jean d'Acre . . . . .	Captain Hon. H. Keppel.
91	{ Princess Royal . . . . . James Watt . . . . . Nile . . . . . Majestic . . . . .	{ Captain Lord C. Paget. Captain G. Elliott. Captain Martin. Captain James Hope.
90	{ Cæsar . . . . . †Prince Regent . . . . .	{ Captain Robb. Captain Smith.
84	†Monarch . . . . .	Captain Erskine.
80	Cressy . . . . .	Captain Warren.
70	{ †Boscawen . . . . . †Cumberland . . . . .	{ Captain Glanville. Captain G. Seymour.
60	{ †Edinburgh . . . . . †Hogue . . . . . †Blenheim . . . . . †Ajax . . . . .	{ Rear-Admiral H. D. Chads. Captain Hewlett. Captain W. Ramsay. Captain Hon. F. Pelham. Captain Warden.



the strongholds nearest to her own capital, the fleet nearest to our shores : there, therefore, it was that a well-dealt blow would be most severely felt by the enemy ; while from thence also, if we should fail to take due precautions, a similar stroke might be most easily directed against ourselves. The Government, therefore, exerted all their energies to send thither a force which should be sufficient for all purposes of offence and defence, and the fleet which they assembled has, for real power, never been surpassed. As war came upon us suddenly, after a long period of peace, we had of course only a comparatively small number of ships in commission ; but, as nothing was to be apprehended for our own shores unless our Baltic fleet should be first overpowered, it was justly thought better to denude our harbours of those guardships which were fit for service,

---

51	{	Impérieuse . . . . .	Captain Watson.
		Euryalus . . . . .	Captain G. Ramsay.
46		Arrogant . . . . .	Captain Yelverton.
34		Amphion . . . . .	Captain Key.
33		Dauntless . . . . .	Captain Ryder.
18		\$Leopard . . . . .	{ Rear-Admiral Plumridge.
			{ Captain Giffard.
17	{	Cruizer . . . . .	Commander Hon. G. Douglas.
		Archer . . . . .	Captain Heathcote.
16	{	\$Valorous . . . . .	Captain C. Buckle.
		\$Odin . . . . .	Captain F. Scott.
		\$Magicienne . . . . .	Captain Fisher.
8	{	Desperate . . . . .	Captain C. J. D'Eyncourt.
		Conflict . . . . .	Captain Cumming.
	{	\$Vulture . . . . .	Captain Glasse.
		\$Dragon . . . . .	Captain Wilcox.
6	{	\$Driver . . . . .	Commander Hon. A. Cochrane.
		\$Rosamond . . . . .	Commander G. Wodehouse.
		\$Basilisk . . . . .	Commander Hon. F. Egerton.
		\$Hecla . . . . .	Captain W. H. Hall.
4		\$Bulldog . . . . .	Captain W. K. Hall.
3		\$Porcupine . . . . .	Lieutenant Jackson.
Surveying vessels.	{	\$Lightning . . . . .	Captain I. B. Sullivan.
		\$Alban . . . . .	Commander Otter.
		†Hospital-ship Belleisle .	Commander Hosken.

A few other vessels such as Termagant, 24, Captain the Hon. K. Stewart ; Gladiator, 4, Captain G. Broke ; Pigmy, 3, Lieutenant Hunt, joined the Admiral at different times later in the year.

and Portsmouth, Plymouth, Cork, and Sheerness, were accordingly stripped to furnish a force which no enemy would willingly encounter. Nineteen sail of the line, two-thirds of which were screw-steamers, eleven frigates, and a corresponding number of smaller vessels, were equipped with all possible expedition; and as they were to be combined with a French fleet also, and as the Russian fleet in the Baltic was understood not to exceed twenty-seven sail of the line, it was universally felt that the nation had much to expect and little to apprehend in that quarter.

It remained to select an Admiral. In the latter years of the great French war, Captain Charles Napier had more than once made himself conspicuous by services which proved him to be both a bold and a skilful officer. More recently, in Syria, he had shown undiminished energy; and for his share in the greater part of the operations of that campaign he had obtained very general applause. But fourteen years had since elapsed, and he was now sixty-eight years old, an age at which, in spite of two or three brilliant exceptions, labours that require the endurance of constant personal fatigue, and an equable unvarying steadiness of nerve, ought no longer to be imposed on any man. Undoubtedly the temptations on both sides to disregard this rule are great. The veteran who, while in the tranquil enjoyment of his home, feels but little the inroads which advancing years have made upon his strength, remembers his early achievements with pardonable pride and self-confidence, and is eager to crown his career with one more deed of glory. Those with whom appointments rest feel it an ungracious task to disregard requests for employment, prompted by patriotic motives, and supported by past services, and think it cruel to remind the claimant of infirmities of which they cannot but suspect the existence. In reality the cruelty consists in granting the injudicious request; and it is a twofold cruelty, combined with a two-

fold injustice. It is cruel and unjust to the country, for whose warlike service men in the prime of life, and such only, should be selected; and it is cruel and unjust to the very person whom in appearance it favours and honours. For what can more deserve such epithets than the act of putting a brave and distinguished warrior, who has deserved well of his country in times past, in a situation in which, in all likelihood, he must tarnish the laurels he has won, and be remembered by posterity rather for his last failure than for his earlier triumphs. The House of Commons has long decided that at sixty years of age members are entitled to exemption from the labour of serving on their committees: and it can hardly be pretended that the command of a great military or naval expedition is a less arduous or less harassing task. It may be that the events of this war, than which, for the shortness of its duration, none was ever more pregnant with instruction and warning, will prevent, among other evils, a repetition of this false delicacy, which sacrifices the interests of the country to the fancied claims of an individual. But in 1854 it had full sway in every department of the service.

At sixty-eight years of age, then, Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Napier was appointed to the command of the Baltic fleet. And in the second week of March, some time before any declaration of war was issued by either country, but in order that, in the event of such a result, which was now looked on as inevitable, we might be ready on the very field of our intended operations, he set sail with that portion of the fleet which was ready, and which amounted to something less than half of the force which was eventually to be placed under his orders. The others followed as fast as they could be equipped. Certainly no fleet had ever quitted England with such marked honours. The day that it sailed, the 11th of March, the Queen, who was at Osborne, came herself alongside it in the Fairy yacht, and

received the Admiral and the different Captains on board ; and it was amid royal salutes, almost overpowered in their roar by the cheers of the seamen as they manned the yards, and by the music of the bands, playing that noble air which never falls lifeless on an English ear, and while the Queen herself, from her own quarterdeck, waved her heartfelt farewell to her loyal champions, that the gallant fleet weighed anchor, and sailed for the Downs. One corvette, the *Miranda*, Captain E. Lyons, had been sent forward a week earlier to ascertain whether there was any Russian fleet at Revel ; with great resolution and skill she had forced her way through the ice to the Gulf of Finland ; and, as Napier approached the Baltic, she met him on her return, with the intelligence that the harbour at Revel was empty. In the course of the next three weeks, before the ice in the gulfs at the upper end of the Baltic had broken up, nearly all the rest of the fleet had joined him ; and one of the latest comers brought him news that war had been declared. Sir Charles was in Kiöge Bay when this intelligence reached him. His voyage to that point had been entirely successful. Taking the passage of the Great Belt he had first gone down to Kiel, and then, to prevent any possibility of the Russian fleet threatening Copenhagen, and terrifying the Danes out of the neutrality which it was known that they intended to observe, he had moved up to Kiöge, designing to wait there till the ice had entirely disappeared ; and the adoption of the passage of the Belt, the conduct of the fleet through it without a single mishap, and the return to Kiöge, had shown promptitude of decision, naval skill, and political judgment. But the strain on his faculties was already beginning to prove too much for him ; and he was beginning to feel that it was so. Often during the next six months did he express his consciousness that he had no longer the nerve of his earlier days ; and his regret that he had ever

accepted the command. And the feeling showed itself from the first in the manner in which he dwelt on and magnified the difficulties of his undertaking; on the deficiency, both in numbers and quality of his crews; on the dangers of the navigation of the Baltic; on the strength of the Russian fortresses, and of the Russian fleet. There was no doubt that the duties imposed on him were arduous; that the enterprises to be undertaken were difficult and dangerous; that the perils to be avoided were important. Cronstadt was known, Sveaborg and Bomarsund were believed to be places of exceeding strength; the Russian fleet too, though scarcely, if at all, stronger in actual force than his own, certainly not so strong but that he would gladly have encountered it in battle, required to be carefully watched lest it should slip by him, and, escaping from the Baltic, stoop upon our own shores, which our anxiety to provide him with an overpowering force had left almost defenceless. But the dangers which he feared, far more than an encounter with the enemy, were far less real. The charts of the Baltic were for the most part ample and accurate; and for cases in which they might fail, he had with him the most skilful surveyors that the whole service could furnish, in vessels of light draught, admirably calculated for exploring every channel.

The instant that Sir Charles received the intelligence of war being declared, he despatched Rear-Admiral Plummeridge with some frigates and smaller vessels to ascertain the state of the ice in the Gulf of Finland. The Rear-Admiral soon returned, reporting that the Channel was open even beyond Sveaborg, which he had approached sufficiently near to be able from the masthead to count the Russian ships lying there, and amounting to seven sail of the line and one frigate. And on learning these facts, Napier himself advanced, leaving Rear-Admiral Corry with a squadron of six sailing ships of the line, and one or two frigates and smaller vessels off Gottka Sandö, a small

island between Faro Sound and the Gulf of Finland, to intercept any vessels that might happen to pass down the Baltic, while he himself with the screw-ships proceeded towards Hango; but suddenly he became so alarmed at some fancied signs of bad weather, that, though the wind was fair for proceeding, he turned back to Elgsnabben on the Swedish coast. From thence he sent on Captain Buckle with the Valorous and Odin to reconnoitre Bomarsund at the entrance to the Gulf of Bothnia; and on the 6th of May he quitted his anchorage; and, greatly impeded by fogs which severely tested the seamanship of his officers and the steady discipline of his crews, and still leaving Rear-Admiral Corry on his old station, he made his way slowly towards Hango Head. Here he lay for between two and three weeks, during which Rear-Admiral Chads was busily engaged in training the crews of the line-of-battle ships in gunnery, in which he rapidly brought them to a high degree of proficiency. But the first active operation which was attempted was less successful. There were one or two strong forts at Hango which Napier did not like to leave unattacked: he therefore sent in the Dragon and one or two other vessels to shell them; but by some mistake of the officers who had the charge of placing them, the Dragon, which began the attack, was found to be exposed to so heavy a fire that the Admiral recalled the whole squadron, which thus seemed to have been beaten off, though the loss we had sustained did not exceed one man killed and two or three wounded. At the same time he also sent Admiral Plumridge with a few of the smaller vessels into the Gulf of Bothnia, while one or two small squadrons were also cruising in different directions, picking up prizes, and greatly distressing the Russian trade. One of these squadrons, before the end of the month, performed an exploit which might well have increased the Admiral's confidence in those under his orders, since, independently of the gallantry of the attack, the

seamanship required to work the ships up the narrow channel in which it took place could not have been displayed by even the most skilful captain unless his crew had been in a very high state of discipline.

Captain Yelverton of the *Arrogant*, 46, had been detached with the 6-gun steamer *Hecla*, Captain W. H. Hall, to watch the movements of the enemy between Hango and Sveaborg; and, after he had been cruising there a few days he learnt that three large merchantmen were lying at Ekness, a town about eight miles from the sea on the shores of a narrow creek. As, at the opening of a campaign, the chief dangers of which were conceived by some to consist in the intricacies of the navigation, it was of great importance to show that those dangers were not insurmountable, Captain Yelverton resolved to cut them out; and on the 20th of May conducted both his ships into the creek. He soon found that no enterprise could be better calculated to convince his men, as he desired, that a British ship could go anywhere; for the channel, up which they had to make their way, was full of shoals, and in many places extremely narrow; and, when the ships had gone rather more than half the distance, the *Hecla*, from her lighter draught of water, leading the way, they found that the Russians had not trusted solely to the natural difficulties of the passage, but had fortified the creek at one of its narrowest spots with an earthwork of four guns, a field-battery of five more, and a large body of riflemen concealed behind some rising ground and thick coppice on the western bank, which opened a heavy fire on them as they advanced. Captain Yelverton, however, soon silenced the batteries, and, in spite of their ambush, routed the riflemen with some well-directed shells; and advanced to within a mile of the town, where he was forced by want of water to bring to the *Arrogant*, and to send the *Hecla* on by herself, though still able to support her in her attack on the Russian vessels with his guns.

Two of them were discovered to be aground; but Captain Hall, in spite of a 3-gun battery which poured a galling fire of round and grape on him, proceeded to take the third and largest in tow, and brought her down to the Arrogant; and Captain Yelverton, retracing his steps, got back to the entrance of the creek the same evening, the enemy not venturing to annoy him on his return. The Arrogant had had two men killed and four wounded; the Hecla one killed and four wounded, among whom were her captain and his first-lieutenant, Mr. Crewe Read.

But Napier was not inclined to limit himself to these comparatively trifling operations: as he had not yet received any report from Captain Buckle, at the beginning of June he sent Captain Sullivan in the Lightning, with Captain Cochrane in the Driver as a support, to reconnoitre Bomarsund; a few days afterwards he moved the fleet up to Baro Sound, between Hango and Sveaborg, where he was joined by Corry; and while here he despatched a small squadron, under command of Admiral Chads, having on board Mr. Biddlecombe, the master of the fleet, to survey the passage into Miolo Roads, and the channels leading towards Sveaborg. But before that work was finished, the French fleet arrived off Baro Sound, and the surveying squadron was recalled to pilot them to the anchorage. One French ship, the Austerlitz, had joined Napier before he entered the Baltic at all, the French Emperor desiring that from the very first the flags of the allied nations should be seen united; and now Vice-Admiral Parseval Deschesnes, with Rear-Admiral Penaud for his second in command, brought eight more sailing line of battle ships, with several frigates and smaller vessels, all in a very high state of discipline and general efficiency.\* Now that their whole force was thus

\* The entire squadron consisted of—

	Guns.		Guns.
L'Inflexible (flag) . . . . .	90	Le Duguesolin, flag of Rear-Ad-	
L'Hercule . . . . .	90	miral Penaud . . . . .	80
Le Tage . . . . .	90	Le Breslau . . . . .	80
Le Jemappes . . . . .	90	Le Trident . . . . .	70
L'Austerlitz (screw) . . . . .	90	Le Duperré . . . . .	70



collected the two Admirals judiciously thought that they could not better commence their joint operations than by sweeping the Gulf of Finland up to its very head, and by their appearance almost in sight of St. Petersburg challenging the Russian fleet to come forth and give them battle : while at the same time they carefully examined the approaches to, and the defences of, the great fortress and arsenal of Cronstadt. Corry was left to watch Sveaborg, with his own squadron and the three French line of battle ships which their Admiral placed also under his orders ; and on the 22nd of June the main body of the combined fleets set sail for Cronstadt. As Dundas and Hamelin had reduced the force which they paraded before Sebastopol to an equality with the Russian fleet in that harbour, so here also the Admirals, desirous above all things to tempt their enemy out, took with them only eighteen sail of the line, twelve British, all of them screw-steamers, and six French, with several frigates, nine smaller craft, of which the greater part was furnished by us, and the surveying-vessel *Lightning*, Captain Sullivan, who, even in the brief period that had already elapsed, had impressed the French Admiral with a confidence in his great abilities almost equal to that which was entertained by his own brother officers.\*

The frigates *Arrogant*, *Impérieuse*, and *Desperate* led the way ; then came the little *Lightning* ; and she was followed by the line-of-battle ships in three columns ; the centre led by the British Commander-in-Chief ; the larboard division by Rear-Admiral Chads ; the starboard, consisting wholly of French ships, in tow of steamers, by the French Admiral ; and on the 24th of June the whole fleet anchored at Seskar, the easternmost of the islets which stud the gulf on the way to Cronstadt, and something less than forty miles from that fortress. After a day had been

\* '*La Marine Française*,' etc., par M. Bazancourt, liv. iii., c. 24.

devoted to an examination of the surrounding sea and coast, the fleet again advanced, and before midday on the 26th, came in sight of the Russian fleet moored in two lines across the channel, under the very guns of the fortress. The line-of-battle ships anchored; and in the afternoon, Captain Sullivan, with the *Lightning*, *Magicienne*, and *Bulldog*, to which the French steamer *Phlegethon* was added the next morning, was sent forward to reconnoitre both fleet and batteries more closely. Captain Watson, with the *Impérieuse*, *Arrogant*, and *Desperate*, being also pushed on to keep in his rear and support him if the Russians should come down upon him. He approached within a mile and a half of the outside battery, a strong stone fort on the Risbank shoal, mounting nearly two hundred guns; and after a careful and minute survey, concluded Cronstadt to be utterly unassailable by any description or amount of naval force which was not well supplied with mortars, of which the allied fleets had none. The Russian fleet, indeed, he ascertained to be not more powerful than rumour had represented it, or than that which the allies had brought up to encounter it. Besides some unrigged blockships, and five or six frigates, eighteen sail of the line were all that Cronstadt contained; but they were moored in two lines head and stern along the only navigable channel, which was so narrow that the leading ships, as they faced it with their broadsides, completely blocked it up. They were flanked on each side by enormous batteries mounting above a hundred and twenty guns, while the western front, and two or three shoals and rocky islets on the western and southern side bristled with nearly three hundred and fifty more. The northern side was less strong in its fortifications; but, on the other hand it could not be approached at all within three miles by even the smallest vessels in the fleet, in consequence of the shallowness of the water.

Three days later, the two Admirals stood in themselves;

Napier in the *Driver*, piloted by the *Lightning*, and Admiral Parseval Deschesnes in the *Phlegethon*; and, having satisfied themselves with their own eyes of the accuracy of Captain Sullivan's report, and being also convinced that there was no hope of the Russian fleet coming out, they fell back to Baro Sound, and on the 6th of July rejoined Corry at that anchorage.

Besides the gallant affair at Eckness, one or two other enterprises had been undertaken, which, though of no great intrinsic importance, had had the effect of keeping our men in a state of activity, and had harassed the enemy without causing us any loss worth mentioning. The first week in May Captain Key, of the *Amphion*, had forced his way through the ice into the Gulf of Riga; had captured some merchant vessels close under the batteries of the town; had subsequently, with his own frigate and the *Conflict*, blockaded the gulf and all the Courland ports with great vigilance; and at the end of the month, having heard that a number of merchant-vessels were lying off Libau, he went thither, and anchoring within gunshot of the town, sent in Captain Cumming to summon the Governor to surrender them. Though there was a large body of soldiers in the town, and though the merchantmen lying as they did a mile and a half up a narrow and shallow creek, were in a position that might well have been defended against any force which Captain Key could have employed against them, the Governor submitted, expressing at the same time a hope that we would spare the town itself. And Captain Key returned with his prizes to the Admiral, without having been forced to fire a single shot to obtain them. In another direction, at Uleaborg, a town almost at the north-eastern corner of the Gulf of Bothnia, Lieutenant Priest of the *Leopard*, with the boats of that ship, the *Vulture*, *Odin*, and *Valorous*, destroyed four and-thirty Russian vessels, and a vast quantity of shipbuilding stores; and different detachments of boats scoured the whole head

of that Gulf, destroying everything that appeared to belong to the Russian Government, but sparing all that bore the character of private property.

In one instance only did we meet with what could be called a disaster. Rear-Admiral Plumridge had received information that very valuable stores, and a small screw-steamer, of which kind of vessel the Russians had but few, were at Gamla Carleby, a small town about half-way up the Finland coast; and at the beginning of June he despatched thither Captain Glasse, with the Vulture and Odin, to destroy the stores, and to bring off the vessel. Captain Glasse reached the place on the 7th of June, and at once sent in the boats of the two ships under his first-lieutenant, Mr. Wise. That officer landed himself with a flag of truce to demand the surrender of the Imperial property, promising in case of compliance, to respect that which belonged to individuals; but, finding his summons rejected, he returned to his boats to lead them to the attack. He encountered a resistance which he had not anticipated. The town was garrisoned with a strong battalion of infantry, and battery of field-artillery, which, as the boats pulled in, opened on them so heavy a fire of round-shot and musketry, that one of the Vulture's boats was sunk by the first discharge, and Lieutenant Carrington, first of the Odin, and several of his crew, were struck down, killed or wounded in that ship's cutter. So heavy was the Russian fire that two boats only reached the shore, the entire crews of which were instantly overpowered, and, though not without making a gallant resistance, were taken prisoners. The rest returned to their ships, with three of their officers and the same number of men killed, two officers and fifteen men wounded; while the prisoners they left behind amounted to twenty-eight, nearly all of whom were wounded: many desperately, and eight mortally. No blame could attach to the Lieutenant, since the Russian troops had been so skilfully concealed behind the houses

that he could never suspect their presence till he had advanced too far to be able to retreat ; but the affair caused great vexation to the Commander-in-chief, who desired eagerly to efface the impression which it might make by some decisive and important success.

His first anxiety, however, was to recover the prisoners ; and with this view, as he had learnt that they had been sent down to Helsingfors, he, at the beginning of July, sent the *Lightning*, with a flag of truce, to the Governor of Sveaborg, to propose an exchange. He did not succeed in recovering his men ; but he obtained what he had never had before, a correct notion of Sveaborg. In point of fact, that important fortress had as yet never been reconnoitred. Admiral Plumridge, in April, had only seen the vessels in front of it from his masthead ; and the master of the fleet, who had been sent to examine the approaches in June, was still several miles from Sveaborg, when, as has been already mentioned, he was interrupted in his survey by the arrival of the French fleet. From the report, however, which Admiral Chads and he made on their return, Napier had hastily concluded Sveaborg to be unassailable, and in a despatch to the Admiralty had expressed this opinion in the most decided terms. But now he found reason to repent the precipitation with which he had adopted this notion.

The fortress was composed of several islands,\* and Captain Sullivan was not able to ascertain its precise strength, but he counted about one hundred and twenty guns facing the principal channel of approach, and seventy more on one of the side islands and on the mainland in the rear, at more distant and various ranges but near enough to support the batteries ; he also discovered a three-decker moored in one of the channels to the eastward. At the same time he satisfied himself fully of the general correctness of the charts and

\* It will be found more fully described where the attack by Admiral Dundas is related ; post, p. 370.

plans, and of the existence of a chain of islets along the front, sufficient to hold from twenty to thirty mortars, and within the range of shell. And he reported to the Admiral that though, in his judgment, an attack upon the place by ships would be a measure of extreme danger, it might easily be destroyed by a bombardment. Unfortunately, however, the fleet was unprovided with mortars, so that it was impossible to try the experiment at once; but the Admiral drew up and forwarded to England a plan for a bombardment, based upon Sullivan's suggestion; and must have repented sorely that he had suffered so much valuable time to be lost without obtaining any sufficient knowledge of the place. It will be presently seen that it is far from clear that Sveaborg might not have been at once destroyed by the ordinary artillery of the fleet. But it would appear that, in point of fact, Sir Charles had not waited for Mr. Biddlecombe's report to decide against such an enterprise, but that, from the very outset of the campaign, he had been imbued with an idea, which indeed some of the authorities at home evidently at first shared with him, that such a mode of attack was too dangerous to be advisable. And this preconceived notion of the strength of the fortress was, it may be supposed, the reason why he was so indifferent about reconnoitring it.

Though, however, he had now decided that it might be bombarded, he came also to the opinion that it was too late to procure the means for carrying such an operation into execution that year; and therefore he turned his attention, for the present season, to another object. We have seen that, early in June, he had sent the *Lightning* to survey the waters around Bomarsund, the chief stronghold of the Aland Isles; Sullivan had found a passage to the front of the fortress for even the largest ships; and also other channels, by which a force could be conducted so as to land in its rear; while, from information willingly imparted to him by the inhabitants (who, in their hearts,

were more attached to Sweden, to which, within the memory of many of them, they had belonged, than to Russia), he had been able to learn the precise character and strength of the different forts. They were four in number. One close to the water's edge, of a semicircular form; its convex side looking towards a large bay, called Lumpar Bay, which it commanded with a double tier of upwards of eighty heavy guns, while its landward side was almost equally formidable. To the north-east and north-west of it lay two strong circular forts; each capable of mounting from thirty-six to forty guns. On the south-south-west, at a distance of about seventeen hundred yards from the principal fort, a fourth battery of five guns was placed on a small projecting headland; and on another island, called Presto, only separated from the chief island by a channel not above four hundred yards wide, was a fifth tower, so placed that its fire would be no small support to the north-eastern fort. These works, taken altogether, made up a place of considerable strength, and they were held by a garrison of two thousand five hundred men. But the principal fort was commanded by a hill behind it; and Sullivan had also found good landing-places, both on the north and south, all out of the range of any one of the forts. He reported that Bomarsund could not, indeed, be attacked by ships; and that he had certain intelligence that the roofs of the forts were bomb-proof; but that it must fall at once if attacked on the landward side. And Lieutenant Nugent of the Engineers, who had accompanied him in his survey, confirmed his judgment in every part. Napier implicitly adopted his report; and proposed to carry it into execution with the seamen and marines of the two fleets, which Admiral Chads and Commodore Seymour agreed with him in pronouncing amply sufficient for the purpose; but the French Admiral doubted the sufficiency of such a force, especially as some of the ships must necessarily have been left to blockade the Gulf of Finland: and

therefore Napier was forced to content himself with forwarding the report to England, asking leave either to attempt the enterprise himself, or, should that be thought injudicious, soliciting the aid of a body of troops. From the drain which the expedition to the Crimea made upon our military force, we could not ourselves spare soldiers for the Baltic; but our Government communicated the Admiral's proposal to the French Emperor, who at once agreed to send nine thousand men under the command of General Baraguay d'Hilliers, a veteran who had served in the first Napoleon's invasion of Russia, above forty years before. We were to provide ships to convey them; and we also despatched an engineer officer of high reputation, Brigadier-General Jones, with a small body of sappers and miners to co-operate with them. And, in the third week in July, Napier learnt that this force would soon be on its way, and might be expected to reach him at the beginning of August.

One trifling and ineffectual attack had been already made on the fortifications. While the fleet were engaged in reconnoitring Cronstadt, they were surprised one morning by the arrival of Captain Hall in the *Hecla*, signalling, as he came up, that he had successfully bombarded Bomarsund, which it was certain that he had neither orders to do, nor means of doing. It turned out that Admiral Plumridge, having proceeded with the chief part of his squadron to Baro Sound to procure provisions, had left Captain Hall with his own vessel, the *Valorous*, and the *Odin*, to watch the entrance to the Gulf of Bothnia. Hall had fallen in with a Finland pilot who was acquainted with the passage to Bomarsund; and, thinking a dash at the enemy pleasanter work than cruising in the open sea, he stood in with his three vessels; and, having got within range of some of the fortifications, began to pour shot and shell upon them with great vivacity. One or two of their batteries opened upon him in reply: but his fire was too weak to do much



injury to the enemy beyond setting fire with his shells to one or two wooden buildings of no value ; and he was too far off and afforded too small a mark to suffer much from them. He continued firing, however, for nearly eight hours, when, having expended all his ammunition, he hauled off. Our loss of men had been light ; five only had been wounded, and none killed ; but the ships had received some visible damage ; and the enemy, congratulating themselves on having thus repelled our attack without loss to themselves, little expected the more formidable storm that was now about to burst on them.

Napier's decision and energy, when a positive course of action was marked out for him, contrasted advantageously with his hesitation and vacillation when he was called upon to decide on the line to be taken, and had leisure to disturb himself with imaginary fears of winds and shoals. The moment that he received intelligence of the approach of the reinforcements destined for the attack of Bomarsund, he sent forward Admiral Chads with the *Edinburgh*, *Hogue*, *Blenheim*, *Ajax*, the *Amphion* frigate, and the *Albion* and *Lightning* surveying ships, to test the practicability of the channels for large vessels. Captain Sullivan found them sufficient water through the only doubtful part of the passage, and anchored them in front of the large fort just out of range. The smaller channels were then carefully buoyed. Captain Yelverton, with the *Arrogant* and one or two smaller vessels, was entrusted with the blockade of Bomarsund on the southern and eastern side, while at the same time Admiral Plumridge with his squadron from the Gulf of Bothnia, was brought down to cut off all reinforcements or supplies that the enemy might attempt to throw in from the north. The southern squadron was soon joined by three or four of the French ships ; and thus by the 24th of July the place was completely blockaded, while the surveying-vessels attached to the blockading force, and the masters of Admiral Chads's squadron were employed day

and night in completing their examination of the labyrinth of channels which divided the almost countless islands that make up the group.

Before the end of the month the first detachment of the French troops came in sight. By the 2nd of August all had joined the fleet; the artillery and stores arrived on the 9th, and preparations were made without delay for the commencement of active operations. An omen of the coming success might have been drawn from the good fortune which rewarded a singular act of gallantry displayed by one of the lieutenants of the *Arrogant*. She, as has been already mentioned, was assisting in the blockade of Bomarsund; and Lieutenant Bythesea, who had landed with a party on one of the smaller islands to procure provisions, learnt from the conversation of one of the small farmers that the Governor was expecting despatches of great importance from St. Petersburg. He at once conceived the idea of intercepting them, and got leave from Captain Yelverton to make the attempt. He took with him one of the seamen, who spoke Swedish; and, both being disguised as Finlanders, procured a small native boat in which he pulled to the shore in the neighbourhood of the usual landing-place for messengers between the mainland and Bomarsund. He was too soon, and was forced to lie in the closest concealment in the adjacent woods for two days; but, before daybreak on the third morning, he heard the splash of oars, and saw the expected party reach the shore and land within a few yards of his hiding-place. It was an anxious moment, for they were so numerous that he had no chance of effecting his object by force: nor, if he should be discovered, of escaping capture or death; but in a few moments he was relieved by hearing the officer, in whose charge the mails were, order two of the four boatmen to bring the bags after him, and then seeing him and his armed guard march up the hill. So close was he to them that, as he still lay on the ground under the brushwood,

the Russian officer actually trod upon his hand. But he neither started nor stirred, and the moment the officer was out of hearing, while the men in the boat were still occupied in getting out the mail-bags and securing the boat, he with his man sprang down into the midst of them, knocked over the two men who had the bags, and, presenting their revolvers at the heads of the others, threatened them with instant death if they refused or delayed to push off from the shore. Presently he recovered his own boat, and, having released his prisoners, pulled back to his ship, which he reached in the course of the next night. The despatches, except so far as the loss of them was injurious to the Governor of Bomarsund, proved of no service to us, since they were written in a cipher, to which we had no key. But the Admiral and General Baraguay d'Hilliers, to whom they were sent, deservedly bestowed the highest praise on Lieutenant Bythesea for the judgment with which he had planned, and the coolness and daring with which he had accomplished the enterprise.\*

A day or two were necessarily devoted by the Generals and Admirals to a personal examination of the Bay of Bomarsund, and the fortifications to be attacked. They went in in the *Lightning*, and the reconnaissance resulted in the cordial adoption by the generals of the plans previously proposed. It was decided to disembark the troops at three different landing-places: the French at two to the south-west of the principal fort; the British, made up of General Jones's sappers and miners and about seven hundred marines and seamen, at one to the northward, after which they were both to unite in the rear of the north-western tower, and take the different forts in detail, attacking them in succession with the whole of the combined force, which it was supposed they would not long be able to resist. Few enterprises in which so many different de-

\* When, at the end of the war, the order of the Victoria Cross was instituted, Lieutenant Bythesea received it for this exploit.

scriptions of force were employed have been carried out so nearly in accordance with the original plan. The French, aided by some of our ships, landed at their appointed spot without the loss of a man ; the small five-gun battery, which could have given them more annoyance than any of the larger forts, being silenced by a well-directed fire from the British frigate *Amphion*, and the French steam corvette *Phlegethon* ; while General Jones with his division was equally successful. On the preceding day Captain Otter, of the *Alban*, had gone ashore and had examined for some distance the line by which the men were to advance after landing. Both divisions, as soon as they were formed on shore, moved forward, and before evening had driven the whole Russian force within their forts without a single shot being fired on either side. And the next morning the boats of both fleets began to land the artillery, ammunition, and other stores required for the construction of batteries. A great portion of this work fell upon our sailors : a battery of medium 32-pounders was furnished from the English ships, under the superintendence of Captain Hewlett of the *Edinburgh* ; and, when the guns had been got to the beach, to quote the language of the Admiral's despatch, "as we had no horses, it was necessary to employ the ships' companies" to move them to the positions which it was designed that they should occupy. For the next three days the force on shore was fully occupied with this work, to which the enemy offered no opposition beyond what could be made by an occasional shot or shell, none of which, however, took effect ; but on the 12th they nearly achieved a success at the expense of our fleet, which would have afforded them abundant material for boasting, and some real consolation under their impending discomfiture. The *Penelope*, Captain Caffin, had been one of the ships most busily employed in landing the French troops, and, after she had completed this task, the Admiral, who had landed on Bomarsund, and had reconnoitred the

Great South Fort in person, sent her up the channel between that island and Presto to ascertain whether or not his opinion were correct that the Fort had no guns mounted except in its central embrasures; and, as Captain Caffin had no knowledge of the channel except what was derived from the charts, he lent him the master of the fleet, who had sounded it during the preceding night, to pilot the frigate on her path. Keeping about a mile from the shore, Caffin passed the first embrasures without molestation, but, as he approached the centre of the fort, and stopped his engines as he had been directed, he was assailed by a heavy and well-aimed fire of round shot, and also by shell, all of which however fell short of him. As he had been ordered not to reply to the enemy's fire without a signal from the flagship, and as, on signalling for permission to engage, it was refused, since the object of the Admiral was not to bring on a premature action, but merely to induce the enemy (to use his own expression) to show their teeth; he now resumed his progress, steaming very slowly onwards; but the *Penelope* had hardly gone her own length before she took the ground, and remained immovable with her broadside to the battery, which instantly opened on him with shot, red hot shot and shell, keeping up an uninterrupted fire as long as she lay within range. Aid from his own countrymen and from his allies came at once to Captain Caffin, Admiral Plumridge, Captain Sullivan and Captain Stewart came in their boats, Captain W. H. Hall brought the *Hecla*, Captain Buckle the *Valorous*, Captain Broke, the *Gladiator*, and Lieutenant Hunt, the *Pigmy*; the French *Duperré* and *Trident* also sent their boats; and, with their united assistance, Captain Caffin made the most energetic efforts to get the ship off. All her anchors were laid down, the water was blown out of the boilers, the shot and everything of weight which was moveable was transferred to the *Pigmy*; and, while the *Valorous* in some degree drew off the enemy's fire from

her by the heavy cannonade which she herself poured on the fort, the *Hecla* and *Gladiator* took her in tow ; but all their efforts were useless, till, as a last resource, Captain Caffin buoyed his guns and threw them overboard ; then at last the *Penelope* floated, and was speedily towed into deep water, and out of reach of the battery, having been exposed to its fire for four hours. The ships had all been hit repeatedly by the Russian guns, but providentially no shot had struck the boats, though one, having previously passed through the *Penelope*, killed a French seamen in the *Duperré's* cutter as it lay alongside of her. The *Penelope* herself was severely cut up in her hull and rigging, but her loss of men was slighter than might have been expected : amounting to no more than two killed and three wounded. No other English ship lost a single man ; and, after the fall of the place, the guns which had been thrown overboard, were all easily recovered.

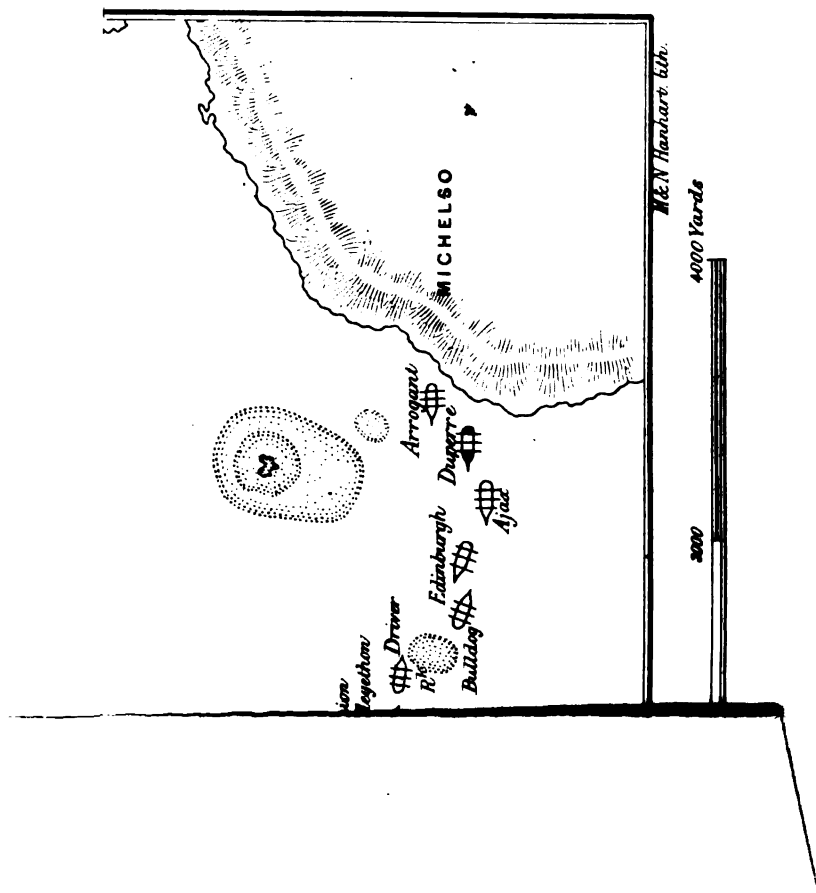
This was the only mishap that occurred to any part of the combined force. It had been intended that the French battery, consisting of four 16-pounders and four mortars, and the British battery of three 32-pounders, under the immediate command of Captain Ramsay of the *Hogue*, who was also supported by a field-battery of 12-pound howitzers, under Lieutenant Burgess, of the *Edinburgh*, should begin the attack on the 13th by a combined fire on the *Tzee*, or West Fort : and the British sailors were working night and day to complete their battery, which, from the superior weight of their guns, required the greater labour, when General Baraguay d'Hilliers sent word that he could not be ready before the 15th. Ramsay on this gave his men some respite, but it appeared that the Frenchman had miscalculated his time, for his battery was finished by the night of the 12th ; and finding this to be the case, he thought, as it was nearer to the enemy than ours, being only six hundred yards off, that his fire alone would suffice, and on the morning of the 13th he opened

upon the tower. He did not succeed in breaching it ; but a battalion of Chasseurs, armed with rifles, who formed part of his force, used their weapons with admirable skill, firing through the casemates, and making so terrible a slaughter of the Russians employed at the different guns that at last they could hardly be brought up to load them. At noon the enemy sent out a white flag, which the General at first supposed to have for its object the surrender of the fort. Its mission proved to be a request of a truce for two hours, that the garrison might bury their dead. The General granted a suspension of hostilities for one hour ; but, when he saw that the Russians employed it in bringing up reinforcements and ammunition, he resolved not to be so imposed upon again ; and renewed his attack with such vigour as to silence the fort, which surrendered the next morning.

The English battery had been completed during the night of the 13th ; and, as the French General's miscalculation had deprived Ramsay of his share in the honour already gained, that officer resolved to show that his men also could reduce a fort single-handed ; and accordingly, though his battery was at a much greater distance from its object than that of the French had been, he adopted a suggestion of General Jones, which Napier also approved, and, instead of transferring it to some nearer point, contented himself with shifting the guns to a traverse which he had constructed on the eastern side to save them from being enfiladed. And on the morning of the 15th, having thus converted this traverse into a battery, he opened his fire on the Nottich or the North Fort at nine hundred and fifty yards : the tower replied vigorously ; and the garrison on Presto Island, which was not above fourteen hundred yards from him, supported their comrades with a steady cannonade. But so admirable was the precision of the sailors who manned Ramsay's guns, that, having selected a particular embrasure as their mark, they battered that

Admiral Plumridge, with the Leopard, Hecia, and the





a particular embrasure as their mark; they battered that

one spot till they had completely beaten in the wall around it; in less than three hours they penetrated the masonry, and by the afternoon had made a huge breach which rendered the whole tower untenable. Meanwhile a single 10-inch gun, which Captain Pelham of the *Blenheim* had established in the battery which the *Amphion* and *Phlegethon* had silenced, and nearly a dozen vessels from the combined fleet, poured a stream of shells on the Great Fort: not indeed being able to do it any great damage, since its roof, like that of the other towers, was originally bombproof, and had been lately covered also with four feet of earth, but diverting the attention of the garrison sufficiently to prevent them from assisting the tower which Ramsay was subduing. In the course of the afternoon that tower surrendered, and the Great Fort, and that on Preston, alone remained.

It has been mentioned that the Great Fort was commanded by a hill in its rear; and Captain Sullivan now pointed out to Napier that from this hill the interior of the fort could be reached by guns, and probably by howitzers also, which would soon render it untenable without the least risk to our own men. The Admiral approved of the idea; but the French General preferred making regular approaches, breaching one of the gates, and carrying it by storm: a method which, while it could not be more effectual, would clearly involve a considerable loss of life. However he had the supreme command of his own countrymen both by land and sea, and, as his was the more numerous land-force, Sir Charles felt that he could not well overrule him, and accordingly gave a reluctant consent to his plan. General Baraguay, however, had scarcely commenced his attack, on the morning of the 16th, when the fort surrendered, and its fall drew after it that of the tower on Presto. On that, Ramsay, though fourteen hundred yards off, had opened fire at daybreak, while Rear-Admiral Plumridge, with the *Leopard*, *Hecla*, and the

French steamer *Coccyte*, bombarded it from the other side of the island. Till their shot struck him, the officer in command had had no suspicion that he was exposed to any antagonist but Captain Ramsay ; but still he held out resolutely till he learnt that the Commandant of the South Fort had surrendered, when he had no resource but to follow his example : and the whole of Bomarsund was ours.

It was a very important conquest ; and had been achieved with very trifling loss. Our force on shore had lost only two men killed and seven wounded, Captain Ramsay himself being among the latter, and among the former, a very promising Engineer officer, Lieutenant Wrottesley ; and the loss sustained on board the ships, even including that incurred by the *Penelope*, was slighter still. There was at first some little question what was to be done with our conquest, but it was finally decided to destroy it ; and at the beginning of September the different towers were blown up, the great southern fort being spared for a day or two longer than its fellows, as a target for some of the Edinburgh's heavy guns, that their power might be tested at different ranges, and with different kinds of ammunition, against real fortifications.

The capture of Bomarsund was the last active operation of the combined fleets this year. The next week Napier sent Captain Scott of the *Odin* with the *Gorgon*, *Driver*, and *Alban* surveying-vessel to reconnoitre Abo ; and learning from that officer, who executed his mission with great skill and resolution, that there was a large military force in the town, and a numerous flotilla of gunboats in the harbour, he proposed to the French Admiral and General to stand in and attack it ; but they were not in a condition to agree to the suggestion, even had they thought the object to be attained worth the risk that would necessarily have attended the attempt. For the cholera, which our own fleet had not altogether escaped, had made terrible ravages in their force, both naval and military. One-

eighth of their men, recent as was their arrival, had already been struck down by it, and their General thought the remainder of his army, even when combined with the marines that might be furnished by the fleets, manifestly inadequate to the attack of a position of great strength, occupied by a Russian force at least equal in numbers to any that could be brought against it. The approach, too, was intricate and difficult, lying among creeks fringed with wood, where the fleet as it advanced would be exposed to continued attacks without even seeing its assailants. General Jones wholly coincided with these arguments, and the plan was given up.

It was not the only occasion on which, in the latter part of this campaign, General Jones differed from the Admiral. And the next time the views which the two commanders entertained were of the opposite character to those which had influenced their decision in this instance. The week after Bomarsund had fallen, the two French Commanders, with General Niel of the French Engineers, went up in the French steamer *Phlegethon*, accompanied by General Jones in the *Lightning*, to reconnoitre Sveaborg. Even now no one in either fleet had ever seen it but Captain Sullivan; and both General Baraguay d'Hilliers and Admiral Parseval Deschesnes thought it would be discreditable to them to leave the Baltic, as they were on the point of doing, without having acquired some personal knowledge of the strength of this, the second fortress in that sea. Neither officer could of course be aware of the report which Captain Sullivan had made respecting it to his own Commander. The *Lightning* piloted the *Phlegethon* close in, and the result of the reconnaissance led the French Admiral fully to adopt the opinion of his British colleague, which indeed he seems to have been previously inclined to favour, that nothing could be done, for that year at least, against Sveaborg. But such was not the opinion of the Engineer offi-

cers. On the contrary, General Jones, on his return, immediately submitted to Sir Charles Napier a plan for an attack on the place, to be executed by the fleet, aided by a land-force of moderate strength, which he pronounced not only practicable but easy of execution; and General Niel, though he did not agree with General Jones in the details of his projected attack, expressed an equally strong conviction that fortifications in a space so confined as that of Sveaborg might be destroyed by ships alone. There were officers in the British fleet of the highest reputation, who entirely agreed in the possibility of at once making a successful attack, and who now strongly urged upon Napier the duty of attempting the enterprise, pointing out that the water was so deep in front of the batteries that the largest ships could stand close in. But, as we have seen, Sir Charles had already pronounced against the practicability of such an operation, and though, even now, he had never seen the place himself, he adhered to his decision.

In the middle of September the French fleet returned home, and Napier also prepared to retire towards the bottom of the Baltic. He first returned for a short time to Nargen, reconnoitred Revel, and, shifting his flag into the *Driver*, and piloted by the *Lightning*, he at last went himself to Sveaborg: not, indeed, approaching it very closely, but getting near enough to confirm him in his own judgment of the danger of the plan of General Jones, and of the preferable character of that of Captain Sullivan, which, as has been mentioned already, he had forwarded to the Admiralty two months before. A week or two later, he withdrew from the Gulf of Finland. The authorities at the Admiralty, reasonably unwilling to give the Russians even the appearance of a triumph, by allowing them to come forth from Cronstadt after our fleet had retired, as if they had driven it away, had pressed upon him the necessity of remaining as long as he could; reminding him that in former wars, when the power of steam

was unknown, a British fleet had maintained the blockade in the Baltic till the end of November. Sir Charles, however, continued to entertain an almost superstitious dread of the Gulf of Finland. Though Nargen, where at the beginning of October the fleet was stationed, afforded an admirable anchorage, safe in any wind, since even in the case of a breeze from the N.E. to which it was apparently most exposed, it was in reality protected by banks which always broke when the sea got up, he feared to trust the ships in it through the autumn. In the middle of October he withdrew the line-of-battle ships to Kiel, leaving a squadron of frigates and smaller vessels, the *Impérieuse*, *Arrogant*, *Euryalus*, *Dragon*, *Desperate*, and *Rosamond*, under Captain Watson, to blockade the mouth of the gulf, and the *Penelope* and *Odin* to watch the Aland Isles. Captain Watson executed the duty entrusted to him with rare perseverance and skill. The width of the gulf between Nargen and Sveaborg does not exceed twenty miles, so that he had but little sea room. The centre of the channel afforded no anchorage, and the weather was generally very rough. Yet, under all these difficulties and disadvantages he kept the squadron under sail in the position assigned to him, never even having recourse to steam, except for one or two of the smaller vessels, till the beginning of December, when, the bulk of the fleet having already sailed for England, and the rapid growth of the ice rendering it impossible for the Russians to quit their harbours, he also retired; and by Christmas the whole fleet had reached home in safety.

The nation in general, whose expectations had been raised to a high pitch at the departure of the fleet, was proportionably disappointed at its return without having done anything in appearance equal to its power. They were especially indignant at Sveaborg not having been attacked; and, both in the public papers and in Parliament, the Admiral's conduct was severely criticised.

There can be no question that more might have been done; that, even if the view which he had adopted of the necessity of mortars for the success of such an attack were correct, yet, if he had reconnoitred the place at the outset instead of almost at the end of the campaign, means adequate to its destruction might have been procured from home with as much ease and certainty as the force was obtained which overpowered Bomarsund; but though on this point the Admiral was undoubtedly open to censure, and though, throughout the campaign he was unduly nervous about the difficulties of the navigation of the Baltic, it would not be easy to find any other fair opportunity of injuring the enemy that he let slip. Nor can it honestly be denied that he had rendered very important service to the country, with very trifling loss of life, and still slighter injury to the ships under his command. He had annihilated the Russian trade in the Baltic; he had dared the whole of the Russian fleet in its harbour in the very sight of its capital. He had utterly destroyed the fortress which was already the third in power in the Baltic, and which, as was shown by the works in progress and in preparation, would soon have been made but little inferior to Cronstadt itself; and, while a large proportion of his crews at the beginning were raw and inexperienced, though his complaints of them were carried to an unreasonable extent, he undoubtedly brought back the entire fleet in the very highest state of discipline and efficiency.

The Baltic had usually been the northernmost limit of the operations of our fleets; but this year we resolved to teach the Russian Emperor that every part of his coast was equally vulnerable; and at the end of May a small squadron consisting of the *Eurydice* frigate, 26, Captain Ommanney, the *Miranda* corvette, 15, Captain E. Lyons, and the little screw-steamer, *Brisk*, Commander Seymour, was despatched to attack his settlements on the White Sea. The judgment with which this expedition

was planned, and the injury which it was calculated to do to the Russian trade, were demonstrated at the very outset, by the great number of vessels our squadron met with as they approached the North Cape. Those which, as Russian property, were legitimate objects of capture or destruction, were indeed few : but of neutral vessels, many of which had cargoes belonging to our own merchants, Captain Ommanney examined nearly four hundred. And since no port in the world could be more easily blockaded than Archangel, it was evident that, in another year, a force no larger than that which we now employed would be sufficient to destroy the whole trade of these northern provinces.

Captain Ommanney, however, was loth to confine himself this year to anticipations of what might be done the next, and desired greatly to attack Archangel itself, which was unusually strong at this time, having, in addition to its own fortifications, a very large flotilla of gunboats lying under the walls. Thither, therefore, while he himself fell back in the *Eurydice* to prevent any vessels from escaping, he sent the *Miranda* and *Brisk* ; but a bank of sand which lay in front of the town, after repeated surveys, proved impracticable to our vessels in every part ; and Captain Lyons was forced to seek in some other quarter for a more feasible enterprise. As he retraced his steps, one such unexpectedly offered itself ; for as, on the evening of the 18th of July, he passed *Solovetskoi*, a small island, covered with a handsome range of buildings, which was represented to be a monastery, he perceived in the plantations around a number of soldiers with some guns, which, on his firing a single shot to ascertain their strength, opened a heavy well-directed fire on the *Miranda*, hulling her repeatedly. Our guns, however, were the heavier, and were presently seen to dismount some of their opponents'. On this the soldiers retreated, and the *Miranda* anchored for the night. The



next morning the enemy was seen busily employed in constructing new batteries, on which both our ships stood in to cannonade them; and a sharp action ensued, which, though not without the loss of a few men to our ships, ended in the complete destruction of all the enemy's batteries.

The Government establishments on one or two other islands shared the same fate; but, as six or eight weeks more of open weather might still be expected, our officers were unwilling to let such a period elapse without trying to do something more. And after making several inquiries respecting different points, which it was hoped might prove assailable, in the middle of August Captain Ommanney sent the *Miranda* to reconnoitre Kola. It was a place of considerable political importance, as being the capital of Russian Lapland, and, as such, was strongly fortified and garrisoned. Captain Ommanney undoubtedly expected Captain Lyons to reconnoitre it in his boats, for Kola lies thirty miles up a small river of the same name, which no large ship had ever endeavoured to penetrate. Captain Lyons, however, did not mean to content himself with a reconnaissance, if it were possible to do more; and though the *Miranda* was nearly two hundred and twenty feet long, and drew fifteen feet of water, he resolved to take her up the river. Few things are impossible to a man who is predetermined not to see impossibilities. Sending two of his boats ahead to sound, he followed them closely. In many spots the river was so narrow and so overhung with cliffs that a well placed battery might have disabled any vessel; but, as the enemy had never dreamt of such a defence being needed, the bold ship passed on unmolested, and in a single day had approached within two miles of the city. The next morning Captain Lyons examined Kola and its defences from his masthead; and, seeing that it was strongly fortified with a battery and stockades, the houses facing the river being also loopholed for musketry, he resolved not to trust the attack to his

boats, but to move the corvette herself up to the town. So exceedingly difficult had the navigation now become, partly from the natural intricacy of the river, and partly from the violence of the spring-tides, that the whole day was consumed in advancing the ship a mile and three-quarters : nor, without the most resolute perseverance of her Captain, admirably seconded by the zeal of his crew, could even that little progress have been effected.

When, however, the ship was thus anchored within five hundred yards of the city, the whole work was in fact accomplished. Captain Lyons summoned the town to surrender ; his summons was rejected ; and when the next morning he advanced and began to pour his broadside of shells and red-hot shot on the batteries, the resolution with which the enemy for a while replied to them showed that their defiance proceeded from no spirit of bravado, but from a steady courage. Our guns, however, were too well served for their resistance to avail them. The whole town was soon set on fire, and the conflagration endangered the *Miranda* herself, which, in the course of the action, being greatly embarrassed by the violence of the stream and tide, had grounded within three hundred yards of the town, while the wind from time to time wafted fragments from the burning houses on to her decks. Captain Lyons was forced to keep his masts, rigging, and sails constantly wet to save them from catching fire. So resolute was the Russian garrison, that, though the guns of the principal battery had long been disabled, they would not, even now, quit it, but still poured from it a continued stream of musketry on the ship, till Captain Lyons sent in Lieutenant Mackenzie with the boats, to drive them out and to bring off the guns. The Lieutenant executed his orders with perfect success, and presently, returning again, destroyed a number of public buildings and magazines, which, being detached from the town, had remained untouched by the conflagration. The next day the *Miranda* returned

to the mouth of the river : from thence, having heard of a small squadron of trading-vessels at Litscka, she sailed thither ; captured them all, to the number of six ; and, before the end of the month, rejoined Captain Ommanney without having had a single man injured in her almost unparalleled enterprise.

The only event during this the first year of the war which gave the Russians any real cause for exultation, occurred at the extreme eastern point of their territories in Asia. When the war first broke out, Rear-Admiral Sir James Stirling was lying at Shanghai with a considerable squadron ; and in Port Hamilton, a small harbour in the Corean Archipelago, about three hundred miles from him, were two Russian ships, the *Aurora*, 44, and the *Dvina*, a 20-gun corvette. When the news of war having been declared reached Sir James, he might have sailed up and seized them without resistance ; but, with unaccountable supineness, he never moved. And, about the end of June, they crossed over to Kamschatka and anchored in their own harbour of Petropaulovski, the principal seaport of Kamschatka, and a mart of some importance for the trade carried on with the islands which lie to the southward between it and Japan, and with China. Thither, in August, Rear-Admiral Price, our Commander in the Pacific, with the *President*, 50, Captain Burridge, the *Pique*, 40, Captain Sir F. Nicolson, and the 6-gun steamer *Virago*, Commander Marshall, followed it, accompanied by the French Admiral on the same station, whose squadron\* was of about equal strength. And at the end of August the combined force arrived off the Kamschatkan coast. They found Petropaulovski defended by several batteries, mounting together about forty guns, many of which belonged to the *Aurora*, which had been partially disarmed, but hardly so strong in reality as the number of guns would appear to show, since the batteries were not casemated, and, being placed at distant

\* The French ships were *Forte*, 60 ; *Eurydice*, 22 ; *Obligado*, 12.

points, were not for the most part able to give any support to one another. The ships lay moored behind the point of a long low spit, or sandbank, which narrowed the entrance to the harbour on one side, and on the neck of which was erected a battery of eleven guns, and, a little lower down, a small battery of three guns. On the other side of the entrance a narrow headland jutted out beyond it into the open sea, having two 4-gun batteries at its extreme end. Immediately on their arrival, the two Admirals reconnoitred the forts, and decided on attacking them the next morning. But, on the 29th, just as the squadron was preparing for action, Admiral Price, in a paroxysm of insanity, shot himself. Sir F. Nicholson, as the senior officer, now took the command of our squadron. As Lieutenant of the *Blonde*, during Sir W. Parker's campaign in China, Sir Frederic had earned repeated commendation from Captain Bouchier; and subsequently as Commander of the *Fantôme*, on the Barbary coast, he had displayed both courage and conduct in the rescue of a British trading-vessel from a Moorish pirate. But to the responsibility attaching to the command of a squadron he now proved wholly unequal. It is possible that his nerves may have been in some degree unhinged by the sadness of the event which had cast this unexpected responsibility upon him; the French Admiral too was an old man in feeble health. On that and the next day nothing was done, but on the 31st the British heavy frigates, *Pique* and *President*, with the French ship *Forte*, approached and opened fire on the 11-gun battery; and on one of those on the headland; keeping, however, at such a distance that, in spite of their vast superiority of force, the whole day elapsed before they in any degree weakened the enemy's fire. The *Virago*, which had been appointed to attack the 3-gun battery, soon disabled it, landed a party which spiked the guns, and then stood in to engage the Russian ships. Presently, having received a heavy shot between wind and

water, she signalled for assistance, but, instead of sending or giving it, Sir F. Nicolson went on board and ordered her out to tow off the French Admiral, who had asked for such aid; and, at the close of the day, the frigates too hauled off, contented with having expended a great quantity of ammunition, and with having done little more. After three days' consideration, the combined commanders resolved to make a second attempt, changing their plan of operations, and, selecting as the object of attack for the frigates two other batteries; one of seven guns on the centre of the headland above mentioned, and another of five guns a little higher up; and sending at the same time a large party of seven hundred seamen and marines, under the command of Captain Burrige, Captain Le Grandière of the *Eurydice* and Captain Parker of the marines, to make a second attack by land: for, since the first failure, an American had come on board, and had given information (of which subsequent events gave reason to suspect the correctness and the intention), that there was a fort on the high ground behind the town which was the key to the whole place; and which might easily be taken by any force that was sent against it. The batteries were soon silenced: the *Virago* towed the boats with the landing-party to shore, and covered them by shelling the hill under which they disembarked; but they had scarcely got beyond the protection of their ships when they found they had been entrapped to their destruction. The hill was crowned with low coppice and brushwood in which was concealed a Russian regiment of sharpshooters who, at only a few yards' distance, opened a deadly fire on the incautious allies. Numbers fell, Captain Parker among the first, mortally wounded; and, after a brief but fierce struggle, Captain Burrige and his French colleague were forced to retreat. As they again came within sight of the ships, the broadsides opened to protect them, and the Russians did not dare to molest them in their re-embarkation; but they

left behind twenty-six of our men killed, with many prisoners, while of the rest nearly half were wounded. The French had suffered equally with ourselves; and the squadron, acknowledging its defeat, and making no effort to retrieve it, retired to San Francisco.

So convinced, however, were the Russian authorities at St. Petersburg, that neither their squadron nor their fortifications could resist the force which we had in those seas, that, in spite of all its commercial advantages, they sent orders to the Governor to abandon the place. And the event proved that they had acted wisely. On the news of the death of Rear-Admiral Price, Sir Henry Bruce, whose capture of Lagos on the African coast we have already had occasion to mention, was sent out to take the command of our squadron in the Pacific. He reached the station in the spring of 1855; and his first step was to sail to Petropaulovski to avenge the disaster and efface the disgrace of the preceding year. He found, however, that he was too late. In that climate the extreme rigour of winter does not abate till the middle of April; but the first moment that such an operation was practicable the fortifications were dismantled and destroyed; another corvette, the *Aleoutza*, 20, and two small transports, were also made ready for sea. On board the squadron thus augmented were placed the soldiers of the garrison, the Government officials, with such of the peaceable inhabitants as desired to accompany them, and all the guns, ammunition, and military stores; and before the end of the month the ships cut their way through the ice, and, crossing the Sea of Ochotsk, took refuge in De Castries Bay, on the western side of the Gulf of Tartary. The good fortune which had hitherto saved them attended them to the close of the war. They had hardly landed the women and children when a British squadron, consisting of the *Sibylle*, 40, Commodore the Hon. C. Elliot, the 17-gun screw-steamer *Hornet*, Commander Forsyth, and

the 12-gun sloop *Bittern*, Commander E. Vansittart, arrived at the entrance of the bay. The *Hornet*, with the Commodore on board, stood in to reconnoitre, and made out that the enemy's squadron consisted of five or six vessels, but the precise character and force of the smaller ones could not be ascertained. She threw a couple of shells which fell short, and were replied to with equal want of effect by the Russians; and then she fell back and rejoined her consorts. The next day the whole squadron stood on and off, hoping to tempt the Russians out; but they were too wise. There was no war-steamer among them, and, though numerically stronger, they were less powerfully armed than our ships. Few, if any, of their guns carried a larger ball than one of 24 pounds, while our vessels had not one gun lighter than a 32-pounder, and the *Sibylle* several 8-inch guns. We were therefore more than a match for them in the open sea. And, finding that they would not face us there, our seamen in general eagerly desired to attack them in their harbour; while, apprehending such a step, the Russian officers were making up their minds to burn their ships and retreat. But now again, an officer who had won the approbation of his superiors while he was in a subordinate position, finding himself in command, wavered under the feeling of responsibility. The Commodore was awed by the idea of danger from the reefs and shoals of an unknown channel; and, believing the bay to be landlocked at the upper end, so that the enemy could not escape, he decided on sending the *Bittern* to Japan for reinforcements, and blockading the entrance of the gulf till she returned. Five days afterwards, when he again looked into the bay, the Russians were gone. They had moved up towards the Amoor, the entrance into which, though intricate, was practicable. The Commodore explored the position which they had quitted, but, though it was plain that they must have gone to the northward, he took no steps to follow them. Had

he done so he would have found the greater part of them aground and helpless a few miles higher up. But he still adhered to his former plan, and returned to the mouth of the gulf to wait for the expected reinforcements. In the first week of June, Sir James Stirling himself joined him, bringing with him his flagship, the Winchester, 50, and the Spartan, 26, and being followed in the middle of the month by the steam-vessels Styx and Tartar. Yet, overpowering as these additions rendered our force, even now no use was made of it, nor were any further attempts made to find the Russians, the greater part of whose vessels were still within our reach. The month had nearly elapsed before they were all got afloat, and enabled to reach the Amoor. There at last they were really safe; and from thence, at the close of the war, they returned to the Baltic, able to boast of being the only ships in the entire navy of their country which had defeated one British squadron and successfully defied another.



## CHAPTER XLIV.

1855.

Captain Hastings supports the ships when attacked by Liprandi—Captain Giffard on Lake Kouban and Kertch—The Naval brigade works on the railroad—The Russians sink more ships—Nightly bombardment of Sebastopol by the ships—First expedition to Kertch abandoned—Resumption of the design—Lieutenant M'Killop destroys Russian steamers—Destruction of Kertch and Enikale—Captain Lyons in the Sea of Azov—At Taganrog—Death of Captain Lyons—Her Majesty's letter to Sir E. Lyons—He is succeeded by Captain S. Osborn—Great activity of that officer—Loss of the *Jasper*—Destruction of *Gheisk*—Bombardment of Sebastopol on the 18th of June—Fall of Sebastopol—Expedition to Kinburn—Destruction of the Russian forts—Admiral R. Dundas appointed to command the Baltic fleet—The Queen visits the fleet at Spithead—Admiral Dundas reconnoitres Revel, Sveaborg, and Cronstadt—Small-pox in the fleet—Infernal machines—Destruction of the Cossack's boat—Captain Yelverton's cruise—Operations in the Gulf of Bothnia—Bombardment of Sveaborg—End of the war.

THE winter season was almost as unfavorable to naval operations in the Black Sea as in the Baltic, and for the first three months of the next year no operations were undertaken by either fleet. Sir Edmund Lyons, who had shifted his flag into the *Royal Albert*, a magnificent three-decker of 130 guns, with the main body of the British ships still watched Sebastopol, resolved to show both his enemies and his allies that no weather could force, or at all events could long keep a British admiral from his post.\*

\* A few changes had taken place during the winter in the composition of the fleet. The *Britannia*, *Trafalgar*, *Bellerophon*, and *Sans Pareil* had gone home, and had been replaced by the *Royal Albert* as the flagship, Sir Thomas Pasley succeeding Captain Mends in the *Agamemnon*; by the *Hannibal*, 91, Captain John Hay, as the flagship of the new second in command, Sir Houston Stewart; by the *St. Jean d'Acre*, 101, Captain Hon. H. Keppel; *Princess Royal*, 91, Captain Lord C. Paget; and *Algiers*, 91, Captain C. Talbot.

Some of the Captains, too, had been changed. Captain Jones and Captain

And Captain Hastings with a small squadron, consisting of his own ship the *Curaçoa*, the *Valorous*, the *Furious*, and the *Viper*, with the French steamer *La Veloce*, lay off Eupatoria. To this little force fell the honour of opening the naval campaign of 1855, when, on the 17th of February, the Russian General Liprandi attacked Omar Pasha with a force which he expected to prove overpowering. But the Turks fought with a bravery which had not been calculated on; and Captain Hastings, having been requested by the Pasha to support his right flank which rested upon the shore, brought his squadron close in, and kept up a steady fire on the Russian battalions within his range, which contributed very much to their discomfiture. They were at last driven back with heavy loss, and Omar did not in his exultation, omit to acknowledge with gratitude the promptitude and efficiency of the aid which he had received from his Christian allies.

A still smaller squadron, the *Leopard*, Captain Giffard, with the French steamer *Le Fulton*, a week later ventured to become the assailant of the Russians in their own territory. Captain Giffard was moving along the coast towards Anapa, a place of which Sir Edmund Lyons had pointed out the strength in his reconnaissance of the preceding spring, when, on passing the Kouban Lake, which is only separated from the sea by a narrow strip of sand, he saw a body of troops crossing it in boats, on their way, as he conjectured, to the Crimea; which is only separated from that district by the narrow strait of Kertch. Standing close in shore, he opened his fire on the troops, and routed them; and then sent a division of boats under Mr. Graham, his first-lieutenant, to destroy a range of barracks and

---

King having succeeded Captains Eden and C. Graham in the *London* and *Rodney*; and Captains W. Peel and Hon. J. Drummond replacing Captains St. Vincent King and Carnegie in the *Leander* and *Tribune*. A great addition also had been made to the smaller steamers and gunboats, which now amounted to nearly thirty vessels, a great portion of which will be hereafter mentioned in the account of the operations in the Sea of Azof.

storehouses which were perceived at a short distance inland. On his return, Lieutenant Graham reported that he had succeeded fully in the object of his mission, and that he had also seen a convoy of guns and military stores on their way to Kertch. Captain Giffard resolved to destroy these also; and having been just rejoined by *Le Fulton*, which had been reconnoitring Kaffa, he proceeded to the strait, and reached it just in time to intercept the convoy. It was escorted by a body of near five hundred Cossacks and other troops, who opened a heavy fire of both shot and shell on the two ships; but the guns of our sailors were better served than theirs, and drove them from three positions in succession, while Lieutenant Graham again went in with his boats, and attacked the train, the whole of which he captured or destroyed: ten new guns, with a large quantity of military stores, fell into our hands. And, as at the spot where he landed, was another range of barracks, storehouses, and other Government buildings, he burnt them also, and rejoined his commander without having lost a single man.

During March the ships had rest, and the only work that fell to the lot of the sailors was that performed by the Naval Brigade, whose exertions were unremitting, and more multifarious than ever. A railroad had been planned from the water's edge at Balaklava to the position occupied by the army, but it was at a standstill for want of men till Captain Lushington, with a sailor's energy, offered a party of his seamen; and two hundred of them in the course of a month completed it to the *Barrier du Col*, the highest point of land over which it was required to transport the heavy guns, on the supply of which it was evident that the fate of Sebastopol in a great degree depended. In the course of March the brigade had a triumph more in its own way. One of their 68-pounders was committing such havoc on the Mamelon, that the Russians brought up a gun of similar force for the express purpose of dismounting it. Their

object, and the certainty of their success was announced to our men by a Russian officer during a truce which, on the 24th of March, was granted for the purpose of burying the dead, and the next day a regular match took place between the two guns; the result proved the enemy to have been over sanguine, for when seventeen shots had been interchanged the Russian gun was dismounted, while ours continued battering the ramparts with as good effect as ever.

A week of April had passed before the services of the ships were again required; but on the 10th they came out of Kazatch Bay and again anchored in line before Sebastopol, where, during the winter, the enemy had sunk four more of their ships. And as it had been proved in the previous October that a cannonade of the forts facing the sea could produce no adequate effect, it might have seemed that our fleet would have nothing to do. But the ingenuity of one of our captains, Lord C. Paget, of the *Princess Royal*, devised a plan which he suggested to Sir E. Lyons; and that officer, seeing at once how effectual a diversion it would create, communicated it to his French colleague, and with his co-operation proceeded to carry it out. Some of our boats landed and fixed lights on the shore in front of the northern side of the town as landmarks, which the French troops kindled every evening, and at night a ship from each squadron stood in and shelled the town. The Russians had had no suspicion of such an attack till they found it launched at them: they returned the fire, but, as they could scarcely see their foe, without much success; and during the remainder of the siege this manœuvre was repeated almost nightly, producing a great effect, not only by the damage which it actually did, but still more by the degree in which it harassed the garrison, who were thus deprived of rest night and day. The *Valorous* and the French *Caffarelli* had the honour of being the first to commence this new kind of warfare, and vessels of their class, steamers with a few heavy guns,

were those usually selected for the work : but occasionally it was thought advisable to try a heavier attack ; and one night the two Admirals prepared to take in their flagships, and drew lots to decide which should have the precedence. M. Bruat won ; but as the two superb three-deckers, each having every gun of her broadside loaded with shell, steered towards the town, the engine of the French ship broke down, and Admiral Bruat, sending a boat to report his misfortune to Sir E. Lyons, expressed a hope that we would not proceed without him. Sir Edmund at once returned to his moorings : nor was there any officer in either the fleet or army of France better entitled to such courteous consideration than M. Bruat, who at all times showed his willingness to co-operate with our fleet with a frankness and cordiality untinged with any professional or national jealousy.

He was probably even more disappointed when, a week afterwards, he was forced to abandon a more important enterprise. Throughout the winter the Russians had been greatly strengthening their different positions along the northern coast of the Black Sea ; and among other places they had added, and were still diligently adding to the defences of Kertch, a town at the extreme eastern point of the Crimea, where that peninsula is separated from Asia by a strait only a few miles wide. It was a place of great importance to Sebastopol, as being the repository where the corn of the adjacent provinces was stored ; and, from thence, the moment that the return of spring had made the roads passable, a train of fifteen hundred waggons of grain or flour had daily been sent to the beleagured garrison. It was therefore judiciously selected as the first point of attack. The Straits of Kertch and the coast of the Black Sea for several miles on each side of them had been blockaded ever since the beginning of February by a squadron of steamers ; at first under Captain Moore of the *Highflyer*, and, after his

departure to rejoin the fleet, under Commander S. Osborn of the *Vesuvius*. And now, on the 3rd of May, a combined fleet of nearly forty English and twelve French vessels set sail; the Admirals showing the importance which they attached to the expedition by both heading it in person, and leaving the squadron before Sebastopol under the command of the senior captains. An army of eleven thousand men, the British contingent being under Sir George Brown, was also embarked in the different ships. To conceal their destination from the garrison of Sebastopol, the fleet steered at first towards the north-west; but, altering its course as soon as it was out of sight of land, it proceeded rapidly, in spite of a dense fog, to its destination. The French Admiral, with General Dautemarre, the commander of their land-force, had spent the morning of the 4th on board the English flagship, making final arrangements for the disembarkation and commencement of active operations; and all seemed to promise a speedy and decisive success, when, the same evening, M. Bruat was forced to renounce his share in the enterprise. General Canrobert, the new Commander-in-chief of the whole French army, having also the supreme naval authority, had been so unwilling to lose the support of the fleet in his operations against Sebastopol, that it was not without difficulty that he had been induced to consent to the expedition at all; and, the very morning after it had sailed, he received a despatch from Paris enjoining the adoption of some new designs, which, in his opinion, left him no alternative but at once to recall the French contingent. Had they been guided solely by military considerations, the English commanders would probably have gone forward with the enterprise with their unassisted force, but they felt that such a line of action might create a jealousy which would mar the whole campaign, and, with disinterested self-denial, returned with their allies.

The enterprise was only postponed. A fortnight after-

wards General Canrobert, at his own request, was succeeded in the chief command by General Pelissier, and the first fruits of this new appointment were seen in the decision which was instantly taken to resume the expedition to Kertch. On the 22nd of May it again set sail, with a force somewhat increased. Nine sail of the line, of which we supplied six, forty-seven frigates and smaller vessels, twenty-seven of which were also British,\* conveyed a land-force of nearly sixteen thousand men, with six batteries of artillery, of which something less than a fourth came from Lord Raglan's army, the rest being made up of French and Turks. The result showed the wisdom of employing a force so strong as to make resistance hopeless. It reached its destination on Queen Victoria's birthday, and our allies agreed with us in looking on the coincidence as an omen of coming triumph; but they could not have anticipated one so complete and easy as that which was in store for them. Captain Spratt, of the Spitfire, who had surveyed the strait and adjacent coast with great industry and success, had selected a landing-place for the troops within the strait, in a small bay between Kamish and the Cape of St. Paul, at which they were all disembarked that evening without the slightest accident; a few shells from our steam-vessels scattering a body of Cossacks, the only hostile force that ventured to show itself. The next morning the ships of the line anchored off Cape Takli; and the smaller steam-vessels, for which alone there was

\* The British ships were:—

Royal Albert.	Furious.	Stromboli.
Agamemnon.	Highflyer.	Ardent.
Hannibal.	Terrible.	Medina.
Algiers.	Miranda.	Wrangler.
St. Jean d'Acre.	Sphinx.	Viper.
Princess Royal.	Spitfire.	Lynx.
Sidon.	Gladiator.	Snake.
Valorous.	Vesuvius.	Recruit.
Leopard.	Curlew.	Arrow.
Tribune.	Swallow.	Banshee.
Simoon.	Caradoc.	Beagle.

water through the strait, began to make their way to the Sea of Azov, under Captain Lyons, of the *Miranda*, who, after the capture of Kola in the preceding year, had been transferred to his father's command. They had hardly begun to advance when they found that they were to have no fighting. The Russians had some strong works on Cape St. Paul, and a row of batteries along the shore, the whole way between that headland and Kertch; but at four o'clock, before we were near enough to attack them, they began to blow them up, though the degree to which they shook the earth around, and even the ships in the strait, showed how formidable a resistance they had been calculated to make to any less overpowering force. Freed thus from all necessity of guarding against annoyance, Captain Lyons proceeded rapidly, and by five o'clock came abreast of Kertch, capturing several merchant-vessels, without a single gun being fired by the Russians in defence either of them or of the town; and the only vessel of the combined fleet that was able to distinguish herself in action with an enemy was the little 4-gun Snake.

Her commander Lieutenant M'Killop, made an opportunity for himself. While the other vessels were disembarking the troops or covering the landing, he was stationed on the look-out, and, seeing a Russian steamer stealing off, signalled for leave to chase her; it was granted, but before he could overtake her she had reached the protection of the forts at Enikale, which, as he came up, opened all their guns on him. He returned it, shelling both forts and ship, and, after a fierce contest of nearly three-quarters of an hour, succeeded in setting the latter on fire. While thus engaged three more steamers came down towards him, assailing him at a distance of two miles with guns so powerful that they often threw their shot beyond him, but they could not make him retire; and he continued the action till some



of his comrades arrived, whom the Admiral, seeing his gallantry and his danger, had sent to his assistance, and with their aid he succeeded in cutting off the steamers and most of the other vessels in the Strait. Presently, by the vigour of his fire and the rapid skill of his manœuvres he drove them on shore, and rejoined his squadron without having to lament even a wound to a single man, though several shot had passed entirely through his vessel.

The steam squadron now pushed on beyond Kertch to Enikale. And here at last, for a moment, the enemy met us with a show of opposition; firing a few guns, not one of which, however, did any mischief: but presently they also became convinced of the hopelessness of resistance, and blew up their own magazines; and at the same time a strong fort on the Asiatic shore was also destroyed by its own garrison. Our sailors thought they could hardly congratulate themselves too much on having achieved such important success without the loss of a single life: but our allies would have preferred a harder won victory, and sought to indemnify themselves for their disappointment by wanton ravage and destruction. They were zealously aided by the lower part of the population, who had been little better than slaves to the Russians, and who, bearing their former masters no good will, took a delight in destroying whatever had belonged to them; and by the Turks, who went beyond both in their atrocities, not being content with plunder, but often committing murders out of pure blood thirstiness. The conduct of our allies, in this respect, offering a striking contrast to that of the British troops, who not only abstained from plunder or violence of any kind, but even extinguished the flames which the Russians themselves had kindled, and so saved their property for them in their own despite.

Among the prizes which fell into our hands one vessel was laden with a number of public documents, and also

with a mail, containing letters from Sebastopol, only six days old, which drew a terrible picture of the distress existing in the town, where there were above fifteen thousand sick; and this intelligence, with the knowledge that one principal source from which the enemy in Sebastopol derived their supplies was now cut off, was full of encouragement to the allied armies. It was computed that the stores which we and the retreating Russians had destroyed would have supported a hundred and fifty thousand men for four months. Military stores sufficient to replenish our own magazines we carried off, and above a hundred guns of admirable workmanship. Nor to our vast steam-fleet was a store of twelve thousand tons of coal and patent fuel a trifling acquisition. A large quantity of valuable machinery was also taken and shipped off to Kazatch, where Mr. Baker, Inspector of Steam Machinery to the fleet, was with great skill establishing a factory for the repairs of our steam-vessels. Seldom has so rich a prize been made so easily. But the injury which our success inflicted on the Russians was not yet terminated. It had rendered us masters of the strait; and the next day Captain Lyons, in the *Miranda*, led his flotilla, consisting, besides his own ship, of thirteen small steam-vessels and gunboats,\* and four French vessels, into the Sea of Azov, and crossing over to Berdiansk, destroyed several vessels and a quantity of grain stored for the use of the army in that town, sparing at the same time all private property. Then sending two of his squadron to Genitchesk to command the entrance to the Putrid Sea, and another to blockade the mouth of the Don, he,

\* The British portion of the squadron were, besides the *Miranda* :—

Vesuvius .	Commander S. Osborn.	Viper . .	Lieutenant Armitage.
Stromboli .	Commander C. Coles.	Lynx . .	Lieutenant Aynsley.
Curlew .	Commander Lambert.	Recruit .	Lieutenant Day.
Swallow .	Commander Craufurd.	Arrow . .	Lieutenant Jolliffe.
Wrangler .	Lieutenant Burgoyne.	Snake . .	Lieutenant M'Killop.
Ardent .	Lieutenant Horton.	Beagle . .	Lieutenant Hewett.
Medina .	Lieutenant Beresford.		

with the main body, crossed back to Arabat, and, keeping off at shell-range, disabled a fort armed with thirty heavy guns, and blew up its powder magazine with no more loss than that of one man slightly wounded in his own ship. From thence he proceeded to Genitchesk, where he found that the two vessels, Swallow and Wrangler, which he had detached to that point, had already destroyed all the vessels outside the strait; but, as a strong force of Russian infantry, with a battery of field-pieces, was seen on the mainland, they had not ventured to pass inside to attack a still larger number of vessels which they saw moored under the town itself. Captain Lyons first summoned this flotilla to surrender; and, when his demand was refused, he sent his boats under the command of his first-lieutenant, Mr. M'Kenzie, through the strait, while he covered their advance with a heavy fire of shell, directed partly at the town and partly at the soldiers. Thus supported, Lieutenant M'Kenzie set fire to seventy-three vessels and some large magazines of corn, and returned to his ship; but, as the wind had prevented some of the vessels and magazines from catching fire, Captain Lyons sent him in a second time; and with him his second-lieutenant, Mr. Buckley, who, with Lieutenant Burgoyne of the Wrangler, and the gunner of the Ardent, Mr. Roberts, volunteered to land by themselves and set fire to the remaining magazines, while M'Kenzie should finish the work of destroying the shipping. By this time the enemy were prepared to give them a warm reception; a field-battery played upon the boats, while a troop of Cossacks bore down on the party which had landed. Both enterprises, however, succeeded completely, and Lieutenant M'Kenzie re-embarked Mr. Buckley and his companions and regained his ship, our damage being again confined to a slight wound received by a single seaman; and finally, at the end of four days, Captain Lyons was able to report to his Admiral and father, that he had

burnt or sunk above two hundred and fifty vessels, most of them loaded with supplies for the Russian army in the Crimea, besides destroying their chief stronghold on the south-western coast. Had riches been his object, he would have found it greatly to his advantage to have brought off as prizes the vessels which he had destroyed; but he said truly, that, had he done so, he must have lost much time, and could not have captured nearly so many, nor inflicted nearly the same damage on the enemy.

He now proceeded to attack Taganrog, the strongest fortress on these shores, situated on the shallow arm of the sea, at the north-eastern corner, known as the Gulf of Azov, and he was greatly assisted by an unexpected reinforcement of light gunboats and launches belonging to the line-of-battle ships, which the Admirals, still lying off the Straits of Kertch, despatched to aid him, armed with heavy howitzers and rockets. The senior French captain, M. Sedaiges, co-operated zealously with him, leaving the principal direction of the operations in his hands; and, after summoning the town to surrender and receiving an answer of defiance, he, having removed into the *Réclut*, as drawing less water than the *Miranda*, and therefore enabling him better to give his personal superintendence to the operations, opened fire on the batteries from that vessel; and sent in the boats of the squadron, one division under Commander Coles, and another under Lieutenant M'Kenzie, to burn the vast magazines of provisions and naval stores which were known to be accumulated there, and which indeed were conspicuous from the water as the principal feature of the town. Lieutenant Buckley too a second time particularly distinguished himself, pulling ashore to different points in a four-oared gig, and again and again landing and setting fire, with his own hand, to the different Government buildings. The town had some heavy batteries, and was protected also by a body of above three thousand troops, all of whom kept up an energetic though

ill-directed fire on both ships and boats. Yet they were unable to save one single building or magazine, or to do their assailants more injury than wounding one British marine: while on their more closely packed array it could be seen from the ships that our shells and rockets did very great execution. Dropping back down the coast, Captain Lyons dealt equal destruction at Marioupol, important from its position both by land and sea, lying as it does at the entrance of the Gulf of Azov, and also on the great military road which leads from the fertile provinces of the Don to the Crimea. He then descended on Gheisk on the other side of the Gulf, and, returning to the Straits, sent the *Ardent* to destroy a large store of flour at Kiten; which Lieutenant Horton, who commanded her, did most effectually, driving off a troop of Cossacks with his heavy guns, and sending in Mr. Roberts, his gunner, with two men, to land and set fire to the flour, which was stacked on the shore, ready for immediate transportation to the Crimean army.

It was almost the last exploit of Captain Lyons's brief but glorious career. A day or two afterwards he rejoined the fleet before Sebastopol, and began to take his part in the attacks which were still made almost nightly by our smaller vessels, and which, as Lord Raglan assured the Admiral, were producing a great effect on the garrison. It was but seldom that the fire with which the enemy replied to them did us any damage; but on the night of the 17th of June they were more skilful, or more fortunate than usual, killing three, and wounding fourteen of our men. Among the latter was Captain Lyons, whose leg was severely lacerated by a shell. He was removed to the hospital at Therapia, where, though he at first appeared to be doing well, unfavorable symptoms soon appeared, and within a week he died. He was deeply regretted, both for his own sake and that of his gallant father, into whose grief both fleets and armies entered when his son

was thus slain, almost as it were before his eyes. The feeling extended to England, moving even the most illustrious in the land; and the Queen herself sought, as far as she might, to alleviate the blow that had fallen on her Admiral, by a letter as full of kindness, womanly sympathy, and well-judged consolation as was ever addressed to a subject by a sovereign.\*

Brave, and energetic, and skilful as he was, men like him have never been wanting in the British navy; and the officer on whom, on his return to the Black Sea, the command of the Sea of Azov squadron devolved, Commander S. Osborn of the *Vesuvius*, soon showed that it had lost none of its efficiency in his hands. The service which it was now called upon to perform was of a most peculiar character. At almost every available point on the northern, southern, and western sides of that inland sea, were collected enormous magazines of every kind of provisions which could be supplied either by the waters in front or by the fertile plains in the rear. Hay, corn, and salted fish, the latter forming a very principal article

---

\* The author has received Her Majesty's gracious permission to print the letter to which allusion is made in the text.

“THE QUEEN cannot let any one but herself express to Sir Edmund Lyons the Prince's and her feelings of deep and heartfelt sympathy on the most melancholy occasion of the loss of his gallant and beloved son, Captain Lyons. We grieve deeply to think of the heavy affliction into which Sir Edmund Lyons is plunged at this moment, and we mourn over the loss of an officer who proved himself so worthy of his father, and was so bright an ornament to the service he belonged to. To lose him just when he returned triumphant, having accomplished so admirably all that was desired and wished, must be an additional pang to his father. If sympathy can afford consolation, he possesses that of the whole nation.”

of food in the Russian army, were there accumulated in vast quantities; while excellent roads ran round the coast, by which these stores were almost daily conveyed to the Crimea, either by way of Perekop, or by the shorter line across the bridge of Tchougar. Great rafts too of timber fit for naval purposes, often laden with cargoes of pitch, were floated down the Don; so that it may perhaps be said that there was scarcely a single province in the whole empire of greater importance in the war which was now being waged, than the Sea of Azov. Great as had been the activity displayed by Captain Lyons during the fortnight for which he held the command, it could not be but that he should leave much to be done by his successor, and Captain Osborn at once applied himself to the completion of the work that had been so well begun.

While under the command of Captain Lyons he had already become acquainted with the nature of the sea, and the position and character of some of the chief Russian strongholds; and he began without delay to collect information concerning the rest: being, as his predecessor had been, aided in the most cordial manner by M. de Sedaiges, who, though his senior officer, yet, as having by far the smaller force, now conceded the lead to him as willingly as he had given it up to Captain Lyons. Occasionally Osborn's conciliatory manners, mingled, as they always were, with firmness, turned the resources of the country around to his own advantage; as when he prevailed on the Governor of Berdiansk, the largest and richest town, with the exception of Odessa, in southern Russia, to allow him to purchase fresh meat for his squadron; but more often he was forced to rely on sterner means to effect his objects, and these he began to employ in every direction. The squadron became almost ubiquitous, and, were it not that in the British navy opportunities rarely fail to find men to avail themselves of them, it might be said that he was singularly fortunate in the

officers who commanded the different vessels of his squadron. With them, or a portion of them, he traversed this little sea with incredible celerity; performing every kind of service, burning stores, shelling batteries, and, as often as an occasion presented itself, measuring the speed and power of his little vessels with troops of Cossack cavalry: coasting along and driving them with his long-range guns from point to point, till, worn out with the constant activity to which he compelled them, they found their boasted speed and endurance never sufficient to preserve the treasures they desired to protect, and not seldom unable to save themselves from heavy loss.

His first object was to examine that narrow strip of land known as Arabat Spit, which, running along the south-western coast of the Sea of Azov, separates it from the Sivash or Putrid Sea; in the hope of being able not only to destroy the floating bridge of Genitchi at its northern point, but to find some means of crossing the Sivash itself, and of blowing up the solid bridge which connects the little peninsula of Tchougar with the Crimea, forming an essential part of the great road from the eastern provinces to Simferopol and Sebastopol. Tchougar itself he was unable to approach, so few were the inches of water to be found in the Sivash, when the wind came from the N.E., as it did during the greater part of the summer; more than once he carried the lightest gigs across the spit, and launched them on the other side, but he could not get far without grounding, and all attempts on the bridge were finally forced to be abandoned. The floating bridge at Genitchi Lieutenant Hewett, of the *Beagle*, the same officer who had already so distinguished himself in the Naval Brigade, utterly destroyed, cutting the hawsers, and casting adrift the ferry-boats which composed it, in spite of a very heavy fire of musketry which was poured upon the boats employed. And before the winter Lieutenant Commerell, of the *Weser*, who had been left at Genitchi with a general



order to do anything that presented itself as feasible, took advantage of an occasion when the water was unusually high to launch a boat across the spit, and to land on the western, or Crimean, side of the Sivash, in the neighbourhood of the rivers Salghir and Karasu. Leaving the rest in the boat, with two of his men he forded both the rivers, destroyed large quantities of grain which were stacked on the banks ready for removal, and, though pursued and attacked by above a score of mounted Cossacks, regained his boat without loss, though one of his men was so totally exhausted that he himself and the other man, a quartermaster of the name of Rickard, had to carry him through the mud for a considerable distance to save him from falling into the enemy's hands.\* Osborn himself destroyed a great number of boats which had escaped from the Miranda through Genitchi Strait, and which, as he judged, were calculated to be of great use to the enemy when the winter should have compelled his squadron to retire; and he also repeatedly routed strong parties of Cossacks which paraded the spit, and occasionally tried to assume the offensive with their field-batteries.

While he was thus employed one of his squadron, Commander Lambert in the Curlew, cruising on the northern coast, made prize of two traders, the very last vessels belonging to the enemy that continued afloat. And, as soon as he abandoned the idea of any present attack on Tchougar, he himself also went northwards, thinking that the unexpectedness of his arrival might facilitate the achievement of some important enterprise. He passed along the coast to the very mouth of the Don, cannonading whatever batteries he discovered till he had disabled them, and sending in boats, or some of the smaller gunboats, under his first-lieutenant Mr. Champion, Lieutenant Burgoyne, Lieutenant Horton, Lieutenant Strode, or Lieu-

\* When the Victoria Cross was instituted the next year, he and Rickard received it for this act of humane gallantry.

tenant Day to complete the destruction of what he was unable to set on fire with his shells. The Cossacks, and other Russian troops, did their best to check him here as on the southern coast, sometimes coming down upon him with dashing charges, sometimes lying in ambush, for which the height of the rushes on the bank of the different rivers offered continual facilities, but he was as wary as he was bold ; and though, whenever they came within reach of his guns, they suffered severely themselves, they did him no damage. Thus he cleared both sides of the Gulf of Azov, destroying all the magazines at Beilosarai, Petrovskoi, Krivaia (or the Crooked Spit), the mouth of the Mious, Petrushena, Gheisk, and Glofira ; battering Petrovskoi to pieces, because it was strongly fortified and occupied by a powerful garrison, and then retracing his steps, and revisiting many of the towns on which he had already descended.

So productive was the country around that he often found that at places where, a few weeks before he had destroyed all the supplies then existing, the Russians supposing that it would never occur to him to return, had rebuilt and replenished their storehouses, and again he had to repeat by a new destruction the warning that it was vain for the Sebastopol garrison to look for supplies from that region. Taganrog itself was too strong for him to be able to destroy its fortifications : but, in spite of them, Lieutenant Hudson of the *Jasper* one night sent in his gig under the command of Mr. Vesey, the gunner, and destroyed a battery of seven field pieces, bringing off also several river guns, with a large quantity of ammunition. On the south-eastern coast Captain Osborn (he had been deservedly promoted to post-rank in the middle of his brilliant campaign), did the enemy even more permanent injury ; at Temriouk destroying the bridge and road leading from the Asiatic provinces to Kertch : while another squadron under Captain Hall, the successor of Captain

Lyons in the *Miranda*, destroyed the Russian establishments at Taman and Fanagoria. And in the west, above Genitchi, after destroying vast magazines on Berutch Spit, and about Gorelia, Osborn in person ascended the River Uklinka with a party of row-boats till the water became too shallow for him to proceed, threatening the great Sebastopol road itself, and striking such terror into the enemy that, at last, hopeless of escaping from him, they burnt all their own vessels that they had hitherto succeeded in preserving at Genitchi, and enabled him to assert that in the whole sea they had not a single boat of any kind of one ton burthen remaining.

The completeness of the success thus obtained is hardly more remarkable than the slight cost at which it was effected. It was rarely that he had even a single man wounded. One party of three, Mr. Oudevaine a mate of the *Wrangler*, with the boatswain and one seaman, was cut off by a Russian detachment in ambuscade, and captured: but the only disaster which could be looked upon as counterbalancing even the least of his successes was the loss of the *Jasper*. Osborn deservedly looked on her commander, Lieutenant Hudson, as one of his best officers, and when, at the end of July, he himself had returned to Arabat, he left him to blockade the mouth of the Don and the Gulf of Taganrog, hoping that the sight of one small gunboat might tempt two or three Russian vessels which were in the neighbourhood to come out and fight her. Commander Craufurd, of the *Swallow*, was left at hand to support her, but by some misapprehension of his instructions, he fell back towards Marioupool, and began to put his ship through a course of repair; and one night Hudson, judging it necessary to communicate with him, steamed back from Taganrog for that purpose. While he was taking a hurried sleep after several days of labour, the petty officer in charge of the *Jasper* ran her ashore on the Krivaia, and the next morning a strong force of Cossacks

and riflemen, thinking her helpless, opened fire upon her. In spite of his unfavorable position, and of half his men being engaged in attempts to get the vessel off, Hudson fought her with such skill and gallantry that the enemy could make no impression on her, till the *Swallow*, which from the beginning was within sight of the action, joined him. Craufurd at once took the command, and ordered Hudson, in spite of his entreaties, to abandon her, and then tried to destroy her by cannonading her from his own ship. On the 29th intelligence of what had occurred reached Osborn, who at once returned, drove the Russians from the wreck, recovered her 68-pounder which had been thrown overboard, and would have succeeded in bringing the *Jasper* herself off in safety had she not been too much injured by the *Swallow's* shot: to prevent her becoming a trophy to the Russians he burnt her. The court-martial which was of necessity appointed to investigate the circumstances, sentenced Lieutenant Hudson to be admonished for running the boat aground; but the commander-in-chief, to show how entirely he absolved him from all real blame, and how great was his admiration of the gallantry he had displayed, which, though unsuccessful, had been so through no fault of his own, at once gave him the *Clinker*, a vessel similar to the *Jasper*; in which, before the end of the year, he found more than one opportunity of revenging himself on the enemy.

During the greater part of September and October the squadron was weakened by the withdrawal of several vessels for the expedition against Kinburn, but after that had been brought to a successful issue they returned, and brought Captain Osborn intelligence from Sir E. Lyons that at Gheisk, where he had already destroyed extensive magazines three months before, fresh stores of greater magnitude and value, consisting not only of provisions, but of fuel, had been again collected, and also that a large military force was stationed there for their protection. To

know that there was anything to be done was with Osborn to resolve to do it ; on the 3rd of November he anchored with the greater part of his squadron off the Liman, or Lake of Gheisk. His vessels were not all under the commanders whose skill he had proved in the earlier part of his campaign : Lambert and Commerell had received the promotion which they had so well earned, and the Curlew and Weser were now under Commander Kennedy and Lieutenant Ross : but the new officers were animated by the same spirit as their predecessors. So vast were the stores that had been collected, forming, in fact, the bulk of the supplies on which both the army in the Crimea and that of the Caucasus was to depend during the coming winter, that Gheisk itself could not contain them, but they extended in enormous rows of stacks to Glofira, at the mouth of the Gheisk Liman, and even to Vodina, three miles beyond. Those at these towns it seemed necessary to destroy first. The larger vessels drew too much water to be able to approach the shore, so Captain Osborne left them in the offing, removing the greater part of the crews into their boats. He had full need for his landing-parties of every available man ; for at the outside he could not muster above two hundred for that service, while the Russians had certainly not less than 4000 troops under arms to oppose them. Fortunately they had but little artillery, so that their means of resistance were confined chiefly to musketry. The gunboats towed the other boats as near to the shore as they could, and, when they cast them off, opened a heavy fire to cover their landing and their operations. In this way Commander Kennedy destroyed the whole of the stores at Vodina without the loss of a man ; at Glofira the enemy's force was stronger, so that Captain Osborne judged it necessary to distract their attention by a threefold attack, and while, as at Vodina, one party of boats proceeded straight to the town, a second detachment was towed by Lieutenant Hudson in the Clinker, to another

point ; a third, consisting of a howitzer-boat and two rocket-boats, stood in to cover Lieutenant Campion, and Lieutenant Day of the Recruit, who landed at the head of a body of marines, and drove back the Russian soldiers at the point of the bayonet, capturing a small gun which they had with them ; then setting fire to all the magazines, though they covered a space at least two miles in extent, and rejoining the ships, with no further loss than one man wounded.

Gheisk itself, however, contained the largest magazines. For full four miles corn and hay were stacked in vast masses : and close to the water's edge, under the protection of the town itself, were corresponding piles of timber, cured fish, naval stores, and a great number of boats. Here, therefore, also was collected the principal military force of the enemy, both infantry and cavalry ; and, as our success at Vodina and Glofira had given them ample warning of our intentions, Captain Osborn had good reason to expect a determined resistance. He anchored the gunboats Grinder, Lieutenant Hamilton ; Boxer, Lieutenant Townsend ; Cracker, Lieutenant Marryatt ; and Clinker, Lieutenant Hudson, as close to the shore as he could, though the water was so shallow that they could only get just within range of the town ; the other boats of the squadron that could carry heavy guns he brought nearer in still, to cover the landing-parties ; and the landing-parties themselves he distributed in four divisions under Commander Kennedy, Lieutenant Ross, Lieutenant Day, and Lieutenant Strode, directing them to land at points above a mile distant from each other, and then to advance simultaneously to their work of destruction. Such arrangements deserved success. The Russians, who had thrown up light breastworks along their front, in vain endeavoured to arrest the advance of our men. They fought resolutely, keeping up an unrelenting fire of musketry till our men closed with them : but, fortunately, the wind blew on shore, and carried the smoke of our

guns, and of the burning stores also, when they began to take fire, into the eyes of the enemy, hindering them from seeing the greater part of our proceedings, or manœuvring to embarrass them. In little more than six hours, the whole of our task was completed. The town itself was spared, but the whole of the vast magazines were utterly destroyed; and this important success was alloyed by no further loss on our part than that of five men wounded.

This last attack on Gheisk and its neighbourhood had been made by our squadron alone; but in many of his other achievements Captain Osborn had been assisted by the French; nor could anything equal the cordiality with which the officers of the Milan, Brandon, Fulton, and Caton, Captain de Cintie and Messieurs des Essarts, Cloue, La Juchette, and Vedel had co-operated with our squadron, except the frankness with which Captain Osborn acknowledged their gallantry and his obligations to it. All had worked together as allies should work. As the winter was now approaching, and the ice was forming rapidly along the Shores of the Sea of Azov, Captain Osborn, under the instructions of his Admiral, withdrew his squadron from its waters, exulting not only in the success he had already achieved, but also in the consideration that the experience which had been gained would enable a similar force, the next year, to accomplish still more. Happily, before that time the war was over; and to the utter prostration of the Russian armies in the Crimea, which convinced the Czar of the impossibility of maintaining it, the destruction of all their sources of supply from the Sea of Azov contributed in no small or unimportant degree.

Meanwhile the war around Sebastopol had not languished. Though occasionally suffering heavy loss, the allied armies were making steady progress in the siege; and the fleet, as has been mentioned, harassed them with an almost nightly bombardment. On the 16th and 17th of June

this kind of attack was carried out on a larger scale than usual. The allied armies had resolved on a general assault on the 18th; and, to distract the enemy in their preparations to meet it, an entire squadron was sent in on each of the two preceding nights, with the addition of a number of launches fitted as rocket-boats, and one vessel succeeding another poured in incessant broadsides of shells for five hours. The enemy replied with a roar as incessant as their own; but from the rapid motion of the ships, and from the closeness of the position which they took up, on the first night they escaped all injury: however, on the 17th, the Russians got the range more accurately, killing or wounding several of our men, and among the latter, as has been already mentioned by anticipation, was Captain Lyons. In the cannonade on land no batteries had done more splendid service than that of the Naval Brigade. The incessant use that had been made of them had almost worn out their guns; and one of the 68-pounder burst, killing or wounding several men. Two parties also bore their share in the unsuccessful assault of the walls, and the commanders of each, Captain Peel and Lieutenant Cave, were severely wounded. At the end of July, Captain Lushington, having received his flag, returned to England, and was succeeded in command of the Brigade by Captain H. Keppel: he carried out the system established by his predecessor with equal energy, and the naval batteries were as conspicuous as ever in the great bombardment of the 7th of September, which prepared the way for the victorious assault of the next day. With the fall of Sebastopol the services of the Brigade ended. It will be our duty hereafter to recount how one of its most distinguished officers, remembering its achievements, presently imitated its arrangements and rivalled its exploits, in another quarter of the globe and in a still more fearful war.

Before, however, Sebastopol fell, the ingenuity of our sailors, sharpened by having so little legitimate work,



found out another use for our ships, by which also they afforded the most important aid to their comrades of the army. Sir Houston Stewart anchored his flagship, the Hannibal, so close to the mouth of the harbour that from his quarter-deck he could discern the movements of the Russian troops in the town, and of the reliefs as they went to the different batteries. And, at his suggestion, a telegraph was erected on the hill in front of the British Light Division, with which he could interchange signals, and thus keep those of our officers who were in command of the mortar batteries constantly informed of the points on which they should direct their fire. He was often able even to communicate to them the effect of each shot, so as to enable them to get the required range with precision; and during the last month of the siege this novel use of a British flagship added greatly to the losses of the enemy.

The night before Sebastopol fell the Russians sunk their remaining line-of-battle ships; but, as their steamers were still afloat, Sir E. Lyons and M. Bruat, resolved that nothing should escape, placed their fleets across the mouth of the harbour, in a compact line, reaching from Belbek on the north side to Strelezka Bay on the south; and on the 12th the Russians despairing of saving the steamers, set fire to them with their own hands; and by this crowning act the destruction of the whole fleet was consummated, without its sailors having been permitted to strike a single blow for the service of their country or their own honour.

It was not certain that the fall of the great fortress would bring about the immediate end of the war; but it was clear that it released the fleets from any necessity for remaining on the shores of the Crimea; and, as some weeks might still be expected to prove suitable for naval operations before winter should set in, the allied Admirals concerted an attack on the Russian posts at the mouth of the Bong and Dnieper, which were both strong from their fortifications, and important from the existence of a dock-

yard for the building of frigates a few miles up one of those rivers, which drew its principal supplies of timber from the prodigious rafts which, throughout the summer, were floated down the stream of the other. Thither, therefore, on the 7th of October, sailed a large combined expedition. Six sail of the line, including both the flag-ships, nine steam-frigates, twenty-four steam-sloops, gun-boats, and mortar vessels, with several transports, conveying four thousand troops, formed the British contingent: the French soldiers were equally numerous, but their fleet was smaller, though, in one respect, especially interesting, since it included three floating batteries, made, it was said, on a plan furnished by the Emperor Napoleon himself, with a view to an attack on the Baltic fortresses; and therefore their first essay here was looked forward to by both fleets with great anxiety. The next day the combined fleet anchored off Odessa, but was prevented from commencing operations for some days by the continuance of a southerly wind, which was unfavourable to the landing of the troops. At last on the morning of the 14th, the wind shifted to the northward; without loss of time the fleet weighed, and in the afternoon reached Kinburn, the fortress selected as the first principal object of attack.

The Boug and Dneiper fall into a long narrow shallow channel, known as the Bay of Kherson, protected along its southern side by a long spit of land, at the point of which, about forty miles east of Odessa, stood Kinburn, a strong casemated fort, armed with nearly seventy heavy guns, supported by well-made earthworks, each furnished with ten guns more. Across the bay, on the mainland, at a distance of something over a mile, was Oczakov, a fort of inferior strength, but like Kinburn, supported by other batteries in its neighbourhood; and the two, defending the entrance to the bay, were about forty miles from Odessa. The best defence, however, was to be found in the difficulties of the navigation, which was not only entirely un-

known to us, but exceedingly intricate and difficult even to the Russians themselves. The bay itself was in every part closed against ships of the line by its shallowness; and outside the spit the water was full of shoals and banks. Here, however, as in the Baltic, we had a skilful surveyor, Captain Spratt of the Spitfire; and before the commencement of active operations he surveyed the sea, both inside and outside the bay, with such diligence, ability, and success, that during the delicate operations that followed not one vessel of either fleet got aground.

On the morning of the 15th it was intended that the attack should be made. Our gunboats, the Cracker, the Clinker, the Grinder, the Boxer, and the Fancy, had passed inside the spit at midnight, so as to place the forts between two fires. At eight in the morning the troops were landed at a point a short distance to the south of the principal fort, and at once began to entrench their position so as to cut off the retreat of the garrison. But, as the day advanced, the sea became too rough for the ships to co-operate efficiently with the soldiers, and the attack was postponed. Not that the day passed off quite peacefully; Mr. Brooker, the Master of the Spitfire, had been sent into the bay in the Cracker to take soundings; and since, as soon as he had finished his report, he wished to convey it to the Admiral, Lieutenant Marryatt, who commanded the gunboat, willingly undertook to carry him back to the flagship, though he had to pass close under the whole line of the enemy's batteries on the bold errand. They eagerly opened fire on him; he returned it, and Captain Willmott\* of the Sphynx, being under weigh at the time, gallantly dashed in to aid him. Both vessels were hit, but neither had a man hurt, and Sir Edmund Lyons deservedly

\* While the first edition of this work was in the press this gallant officer, being then Commander of the Euryalus, was killed at Kagosima, while (to quote the despatch of Admiral Kuper) "directing the fire of the "quarters, and setting an example of coolness and gallantry which was "emulated throughout the entire ship."—'Gazette,' Oct. 30, 1863.

bestowed high praise by signal on his promising young officers.

At last, on the 17th, the attack was made in earnest, The English mortar-boats were the first to open; they were soon followed by the French floating-batteries, whose fire, as soon as they got the correct range, was admirable and effective; but the quality in which it was most important to test them was their power of resistance, and in that they fully answered the warmest expectations that had been conceived of them. They were repeatedly struck by heavy shot; but the round-shot dropped harmless from their sides, scarcely indenting the iron of which they were built, and the shells shivered against them like glass. When the smaller vessels had been firing for about two hours, the ships of the line, headed by the Royal Albert, stood in till they came within twelve hundred yards of the forts on the southern side; a squadron of steamers led by the seconds in command, Sir Houston Stewart and Rear-Admiral Pellion, who had shifted their flags into the Valorous and Asmodée, passed into the Bay, and, piloted by Lieutenant Marryatt, approached the forts on the northern side, and both opened a tremendous fire, which speedily proved irresistible. In ten minutes the fort and both the batteries were entirely silenced, and in a few minutes more the Governor hung out a white flag, and surrendered. Two generals and a large staff of officers became prisoners, the officers being permitted to retain their swords; and, besides the guns and ammunition, a vast quantity of fuel, provisions, and forage, also fell into our hands.

We were saved the trouble of attacking Oczakov, by the enemy blowing it up themselves; but, to show the Russians that mere difficulties of navigation were no sufficient bar to the progress of our ships, Sir Houston Stewart took a portion of his squadron up the Boug, and silenced a battery on its banks that opened fire on him. Had he

been supported by the military force which Sir E. Lyons had originally proposed, he would have gone on and destroyed Nikolaeff; but, as it was, he was forced to content himself with the knowledge which he had acquired of the character of the stream; and the next day rejoined the fleet. Then, having repaired the fortifications of Kinburn, having placed in it a French garrison, and having left a small squadron to blockade the entire bay till it should be sealed up for the winter by the frost, the Admirals returned to the Crimea, and on the 2nd of November, again cast anchor in Kazatch Bay.

The Baltic fleet had of course wintered in England; but, as soon as the season approached for the dissolution of the ice, and the consequent resumption of operations, it prepared to return. Its commanding officers were changed; Rear-Admiral the Hon. R. Dundas being appointed to succeed Sir C. Napier, and Rear-Admiral Seymour, who had served as captain of the fleet in 1854, being now the second in command. A few changes also were made in the composition of the fleet;\* and it was greatly strength-

\* The following is a list of the fleet in 1855:—

† Sailing vessel; ‡ Block ships; § Paddle-steamers; the remainder screw-ships.

130	Duke of Wellington	{	Rear-Admiral Hon. R. Dundas.
		{	Commodore Hon. F. Pelham.
		{	Captain Caldwell.
102	Royal George . . .		Captain H. Codrington.
90	Exmouth . . . . .	{	Rear-Admiral M. Seymour.
		{	Captain W. K. Hall.
91	James Watt . . . . .		Captain G. Elliott.
	{ Orion . . . . .		Captain J. Erskine.
90	{ Nile . . . . .		Captain R. Mundy.
	{ Cæsar . . . . .		Captain Robb.
84	† Calcutta . . . . .		Captain J. Stopford.
	{ Colossus . . . . .		Captain Robinson.
80	{ Majestic . . . . .		Captain James Hope.
	{ Cressy . . . . .		Captain Warren.
	{ † Cornwallis . . . . .		Captain G. Wellesley.
	{ † Blenheim . . . . .		Captain W. H. Hall.
	{ † Edinburgh . . . . .		Captain Hewlett.
	{ † Russell . . . . .		Captain F. Scott.
60	{ † Hawke . . . . .		Captain E. Ommanney.
	{ † Pembroke . . . . .		Captain G. Seymour.
	{ † Hastings . . . . .		Captain Caffin.
	{ † Hogue . . . . .		Captain W. Ramsay.
	{ † Ajax . . . . .		Captain Warden.

ened by the addition of a number of gunboats and mortar-vessels, though many of them did not form part of the fleet from the first, but joined it afterwards as they were got ready. It was honoured, as it had been before, by the presence of its Sovereign among its ranks before it left our shores ; and the signal of "Farewell, success," was flying from the masthead of the *Fairy*, when on the 20th of March the flying squadron, consisting of the *Impérieuse*, *Arrogant*, *Tartar*, *Conflict*, *Esk*, and *Archer*, under the command of Captain Watson, weighed anchor at Spithead, and, as the forerunner of the whole fleet, sailed for the Baltic.

It was not till the 4th of April that the Admiral himself followed ; and his departure was marked by what in

---

51	{	<i>Impérieuse</i> . . . . .	Captain Watson.
		<i>Euryalus</i> . . . . .	Captain G. Ramsay.
46		<i>Arrogant</i> . . . . .	Captain Yelverton.
31		<i>Amphion</i> . . . . .	Captain Key.
28	{	<i>Retribution</i> . . . . .	{ Rear-Admiral Baynes.
			{ Captain Fisher.
21	{	<i>Pylades</i> . . . . .	Captain T. D'Eyncourt.
		<i>Esk</i> . . . . .	Captain Birch.
21	{	<i>Tartar</i> . . . . .	Captain Dunlop.
		<i>Cossack</i> . . . . .	Captain Fanshawe.
	{	<i>Magicienne</i> . . . . .	Captain N. Vansittart.
		<i>Falcon</i> . . . . .	Commander Pullen.
17	{	<i>Archer</i> . . . . .	Captain Heathcote.
		<i>Cruiser</i> . . . . .	Commander Hon. G. Douglas.
		<i>Harrier</i> . . . . .	Commander Story.
8		<i>Desperate</i> . . . . .	Captain R. White.
	{	<i>Dragon</i> . . . . .	Captain W. H. Stewart.
		<i>Vulture</i> . . . . .	Captain Glasse.
6	{	<i>Bulldog</i> . . . . .	Commander A. Gordon.
		<i>Driver</i> . . . . .	Commander A. H. Gardener.
		<i>Geyser</i> . . . . .	Commander Roderick Dew.
		<i>Belleisle</i> (Hospital ship)	Commander Hoshen.
5		<i>Villano</i> . . . . .	Master Commander Ryan.
	{	<i>Gladiator</i> . . . . .	Captain Broke.
4	{	<i>Merlin</i> . . . . .	Captain J. B. Sullivan.
		<i>Firefly</i> . . . . .	Captain Otter.
3	{	<i>Lightning</i> . . . . .	Commander Campbell.
		<i>Locust</i> . . . . .	Commander Bythesea.

With *Vulture*, 6, *Glasse*, *Dragon*, 6, W. H. Stewart, and upwards of 20 gunboats, many of which, as the season advanced, were transferred to the Black Sea,

a superstitious age would have been looked on as a bad omen. The same night an American merchantman ran into the Duke of Wellington, carrying away her jib-boom, her fore-yardarm, several of her chain-plates, and injuring her so much in other respects, that it was found necessary to send her back to Portsmouth to be repaired. The Admiral shifted his flag to the Nile; and, taking the same course as his predecessor, passed safely through the Belt, and reached Kiel on the 19th, where, before the end of the month, Captain Caldwell rejoined him with the flag-ship.

On the 1st of May, Captain Watson, who had been up to the Gulf of Finland, reported to the Admiral that the ice was rapidly disappearing from the upper part of the Baltic; and on the 3rd the fleet weighed anchor, and, quitting Kiel, proceeded to the Gulf of Finland. Having left the gunboats and other smaller vessels in Faro Sound, the main body of the fleet reached Nargen on the 10th, and, eager to avoid the errors which in the preceding year had been laid to the charge of his predecessor, the very next day the Admiral went in person to examine Revel. Captain Sullivan this year was in the Merlin, a larger and faster vessel than the Lightning, which was one of the very first steam-vessels ever built in the navy; and he carried the Admiral close enough in to see the strength of the batteries, none of which were placed so far back from the water's edge as to be unassailable by large ships. In the days of Nelson, Revel had been the principal Russian port; but the subsequent construction of the works at Cronstadt and Sveaborg had deprived it of most of its importance, and therefore the Admiral had little difficulty in agreeing with the opinion which Captain Sullivan had advanced the year before, that there was no sufficient object to be gained by attacking it.

The second week in May, Captain Watson, who now returned from a second cruise to the very head of the

gulf, brought word that no Russian ships were to be seen at sea; and therefore, feeling sure that they meant to adhere to their tactics of the preceding year, the Admiral embarked once more in the *Merlin*, and crossed over to Sveaborg, to be able from a personal examination of the place, to form his own opinion of the plan for attacking it, which Captain Sullivan had suggested in the preceding year: and the consideration of which had been specially recommended to him by the authorities at the Admiralty before he left England. Meanwhile reinforcements were joining him from home; but the pleasure of receiving them was dashed by anxiety arising from the smallpox, which had suddenly broken out in the fleet, and most especially in the flagship, spreading with such rapidity that in two or three days there were upwards of thirty cases. To facilitate their recovery, and likewise to prevent the contagion from infecting their comrades, the Admiral wisely took the sick down to Faro, and landed them there; then quickly returned, and before the end of the month proceeded to reconnoitre Cronstadt. On its way the fleet picked up several small prizes, but these were not the first that had been made: for three weeks before, when the northernmost harbours were still sealed up by the frost, Captain Heathcote, with the *Archer* and *Geyser* had cut an entire flotilla out of the ice at Riga. The cargoes, consisting chiefly of wood, were valuable to a fleet of steam-vessels whose consumption of fuel was so great and so incessant; but the vessels themselves were in most instances destroyed. On the last day of May the fleet came in sight of Cronstadt, anchoring a few miles off; and Dundas and Seymour at once went on board the *Merlin*, and, with the *Euryalus*, *Amphion*, *Magicienne*, and *Dragon* as an escort, stood in to examine the place with their own eyes. A high lighthouse lay in their path, which the Admirals entered, and from the top of which they had a full view of both the fortress and the fleet. The fortress had been strengthened



by the addition of extensive earthworks; but the number of ships in sailing trim appeared far smaller than before. Not more than five sail of the line, one frigate, and some steamers were in a state to put to sea: the remaining line-of-battle ships, to the number of thirteen or fourteen, had only their lower masts in, and were moored inside the basin. It was a bright clear evening, and, as our officers surveyed the scene before them, the descending sun lit up the gilded steeples of Cronstadt, and even the distant pinnacles of the capital, and of the royal palace of Peterhof with fascinating brilliancy. But the Admirals were too intent on sterner business to give more than a passing glance or thought to the splendour of the view, and, eager to make the most of the waning light, re-embarked, and pushed on till they came within long range of the forts themselves. Having thus reconnoitred Cronstadt on the southern side, the next day was devoted to an equally careful scrutiny of the north, the chief strength of which lay in the shoals that surrounded it, to which a large submarine dam was understood to have been added, and which common report further affirmed to be protected by a number of hidden explosive engines, infernal machines, as they were usually called, strewed along the bottom of the sea with triggers so arranged that any vessel passing over them would fire them, and, it was hoped, blow herself up. Rumours of the existence of such engines had been rife in the preceding year, but, though Sir C. Napier had been continually on the look-out for them, none had been found. This year, however, their number had been greatly augmented, and some of our ships had a very narrow escape. The surveying-vessel, *Merlin*, exploded two almost at the same time: one of which drove her side in for a space of many feet, and within the ship broke or displaced nearly everything that was in contact with the indented portion. After this proof of their existence the search for them was prosecuted

with increased diligence, and, by a singular accident, one of those that were discovered very nearly caused a greater misfortune than any of those which had been discharged as their inventors intended. Our boats by creeping had found and brought up several, and the officers naturally examined them with great curiosity. Many were found to have been dropped in their positions without being properly set, apparently from the fear which the Russians themselves entertained of them; but as the principle on which they were discharged was tolerably evident, it was easy to examine them without incurring any risk. Many, too, had been injured by the damp, so that they could not possibly explode. And one which had been taken to the flagship for examination was supposed to be in that condition. It had been passed from hand to hand: the very trigger which was intended to explode it had been frequently handled without producing any effect; and at last, after every one in the Duke of Wellington had satisfied his curiosity, Admiral Seymour took it to his own ship, the Exmouth, to show to his officers. On the poop of that ship a crowd collected around it, and, while the signal-man was supporting it on his knees, others were pulling it about in every possible manner, when it suddenly exploded in the midst of them, knocking down every one of the party. No men ever had a more marvellous escape. It was known that one, which had exploded in a Russian boat a short time before, had killed seventeen men on the spot; and those who saw this explosion from a distance at first believed that it had had an equally fatal effect. They feared that the Admiral himself, who was lying on the deck insensible and covered with blood, was slain: and of all the sufferers he was the most seriously injured, since he never recovered the sight of one eye. Captain Louis, the marine officer, was severely wounded in both legs; one or two others, among whom was Mr. Pearse, the flag-lieutenant, were much scorched: one man had his hair

burnt off his head. But not a single life was lost, nor even endangered; and the wounded men were in a few days all able to return to their duty.

These were the only injuries which these machines, on which such ingenuity and pains had been expended, inflicted on us. The boats of the squadron, working carefully in the different channels where it was most probable that they would be placed, gradually found and brought up the greater part of them, and the Admiral and Captain Sullivan, going in in the Merlin's gig, also discovered the position and character of the dam, which had been constructed many years before: it consisted of vast blocks of piles twenty feet long and eight feet thick, filled up with stones, and built at intervals of fifteen feet into the bottom of the sea, in a line parallel to, and about a mile and a half distant from, the northern rampart of the fortress, and there were only two feet of water over it. A few line-of-battle ships and a powerful flotilla of thirty-three heavy steam gunboats lay on this side, some of them being moored at but a short distance from the dam, in a position to cover it with their broadsides; but scarcely any attempt was made to molest our men while thus reconnoitring the place on all sides, though from that day forth some of the gunboats were kept at the dam in advance of the ships. The Russians had certainly desired in the preceding year to tempt our fleets to disable themselves by an attack on their impregnable walls, thinking that, should we yield to the temptation, we should then become an easy prey to their fleet, which was ready to put to sea. But since 1854 they had withdrawn six thousand men from the crews of the Cronstadt fleet to reinforce the garrison of Sebastopol; and consequently, as has been already stated, they had now a far smaller number of available ships.

The French contingent, far less numerous than that of the preceding year, and commanded by Rear-Admiral Pennaud, who had then been second in command to M.

Parseval Deschesnes, joined our fleet at Cronstadt; and M. Penaud accompanied Dundas, in the *Merlin*, to make his last reconnaissance, and agreed with him in the propriety of making no attempt upon the fortress. Indeed, while left unassailed, it was in some degree doing our work for us; since, as long as the Russians thought it required the constant presence of their entire Baltic fleet as an additional protection, it in fact disarmed that fleet by keeping it where it was useless, while ours roved over their waters and along their coasts undisturbed, annihilating their trade, destroying their other fortresses, and, what was perhaps of more real and lasting importance than either of these achievements, lowering their reputation for prowess among the neighbouring nations, by showing that we could beard them with a force which they could not venture to face even for a moment. To increase this impression the combined fleet remained off Cronstadt for the first fortnight of June; the French squadron, not being sufficient to form a division by itself, being joined to ours; so as to form one long line which stretched across the whole width of the gulf, the French vessels taking up alternate stations with our own in the van. But a week or two seemed long enough for this attitude of defiance, and in the middle of June the fleet weighed and fell back to Seskar; and plans were formed, and preparations made for more active operations.

The better to distract the enemy, it was resolved to threaten both sides of the gulf at once; to send one squadron to Narva, celebrated in old time for the great victory gained by the youthful Charles XII. of Sweden, over the more experienced but less skilful Peter; and another to Biorko, Viborg, and the other strongholds on the south coast of Finland; but before any of them could be despatched, intelligence reached the Admiral of a murderous attack made by a body of Finnish irregular troops at Hango Head on a boat's crew belonging to the Cossack,

under circumstances which rendered the act one of peculiar faithlessness and atrocity. Captain Sullivan had made prize of two or three small vessels, but, as the masters of them were poor men, not in the Imperial service, he was unwilling to ruin their families by detaining them; and, with the Admiral's sanction, Captain Fanshawe of the Cossack undertook to put them on shore near their own homes. With this object, on the 9th of June, he sent one of his lieutenants, Mr. Geneste, with a boat to land a party of seven prisoners on Hango Head. He had previously remarked that the troops had been withdrawn from that headland; and probably the knowledge that such was the case led him to think it unnecessary to observe the strict caution generally requisite in approaching an enemy's country; since at other peaceful villages on the coast our men, both in this and the former year, had entered into friendly communication with the inhabitants, and had succeeded in purchasing fresh provisions, and luxuries of garden or dairy produce, which were highly esteemed on board ship. The Lieutenant, therefore, took with him not only his seven prisoners, but the three stewards of the Cossack laden with baskets for their intended purchases; and, hoisting a flag of truce, pulled in to the pier. Having put his prisoners on shore, he himself landed, with the stewards and Dr. Easton the surgeon, one of the stewards carrying the flag of truce aloft: but they had hardly proceeded fifty yards, when a body of soldiers, who had been previously lying in wait behind some adjacent rocks and buildings, sprang forward, and without summoning them to surrender, opened fire at once both upon them, upon their own countrymen who were still in their company, and the crew which still remained in the boat. No resistance was made, nor indeed could be made; since though the ordinary store of muskets was lying in the boat, none of them had been loaded; and moreover the

greater portion of our men were at once struck down by the unexpected attack, which had been so indiscriminating that of the seven prisoners whom we had come to release, one was killed and two were wounded by the same discharge.

Then, seeing that there was scarcely any one left to fire at, for of seventeen men, of whom our party had originally been composed, six were killed, and four lay in the boat severely wounded, the soldiers rushed on the survivors, seized them, and bore them as prisoners to the village; and then ransacked the boat, and carried off her muskets and the ammunition which they found in the magazine. The next morning, as the Cossack herself stood in to look for her boat, of which, till that time, she had heard nothing, she met her coming out. The Russians, when they searched her, had believed all her crew to be dead; but one, though badly wounded, had still life in him, and sufficient strength and courage to push her off and try to regain his ship. He related what had taken place. It was at once reported to the Commander-in-chief; and Admiral Dundas by indignant remonstrances, addressed first to the Governor of Helsingfors, and, when they proved of no avail, to the Minister of War at St. Petersburg, endeavoured to procure such scant redress as could be given by an apology for the outrage, and the release of the lieutenant and his surviving comrades. He got neither, but only a long-winded explanation, which he deservedly stigmatized to the writer himself, Prince Dolgorouky, as a tissue of "wilful falsehoods invented in vindication of a decided outrage." That the lieutenant had exceeded the legitimate privileges of a flag of truce in landing on the enemy's coast was not disputed; but, even if the original object with which he had approached it, the release of prisoners whom he might lawfully have detained, was not to be allowed (as might reasonably have been expected) to counterbalance and excuse such a trifling irregularity,

there could be no possible justification of the act of firing on unarmed men, who might have been as easily captured as killed: and the whole transaction unmistakably shows the cruelty and faithlessness of the inferior classes of Russian officers. The higher authorities, though not too scrupulous to justify their atrocious behaviour by palpable falsehood, nor to profit by it so far as to detain the prisoners whom they had made, yet treated them, and especially the wounded, with humanity and kindness. But this tardy decency was not looked upon in England, and still less in the fleet, as any reparation for the original outrage: and the Admiral prepared to inflict a severe and merited punishment on the whole range of Russian strongholds on the offending Finland coast.

As has been already mentioned, a squadron, consisting of the *Arrogant*, Captain Yelverton, the *Magicienne*, Captain N. Vansittart, and the *Ruby* gunboat, commanded by Mr. Hale, mate, was already under orders to visit the eastern ports of Finland, and in the middle of June Captain Yelverton began his cruise; he destroyed one battery at Rotsinholm, and, proceeding down the coast, at the beginning of July he demolished an exceedingly strong fort called Syartholm, at the entrance of the Bay of Lovisa, which it was designed to protect: it was calculated to mount not fewer than a hundred and twenty-two guns, and close by was a well-fortified barrack for a thousand men. The enemy, having had intelligence of his approach, had themselves dismantled the fort, removing the guns and ammunition; but Yelverton blew up both it and the barrack, and the next day, going up the harbour in the *Ruby*, accompanied by the boats of the frigates, he landed at Lovisa itself; routed a detachment of several hundred Cossacks with rockets, and then destroyed the barracks and some large Government storehouses and other buildings, pulling them down instead of burning them, because they were in the middle of the town, and

he desired to avoid injuring the peaceful citizens. His humane precaution, was, however, of no avail, since the same night an accidental conflagration took place which reduced Lovisa to ashes. Then crossing the Gulf to its southern shore, he routed several more troops of Cossacks; returned to the north; and, anchoring off Trangsund Bay on the 13th of July, learnt that two Russian man-of-war steamers with several gunboats were at anchor under the walls of Viborg. The approach to Viborg is always difficult for a large ship, and the Russians had recently sunk loads of stones in several of the most open channels. But the passage by the island of Stralsund was still practicable: by that, therefore, Yelverton advanced as far as it was safe to carry the larger ships; and then he went on board the Ruby, and in her, with all the marines of the squadron, and all the boats fully manned, as soon as it became dusk, he pushed on to the attack. The Russian vessels supported by gunboats, came forward as if to meet him; but the Ruby had hardly opened her fire when she was brought up by a staked barrier under water, which none of the boats were strong enough to force, and which only the cutter and lesser boats were small enough to penetrate: they got through, and with loud cheers dashed on against the enemy, but were speedily driven back by a masked battery which, though they had speedily silenced it with their musketry, succeeded in blowing up the magazine of the Arrogant's cutter. The crew was saved, but the boat was swamped, and in this state was drifting towards the battery, when Lieutenant Dowell of the marine artillery, collecting a volunteer crew from the Ruby, jumped into one of the small boats, and caught her and towed her out under a heavy fire from the enemy.

At the end of a fortnight Yelverton rejoined his Admiral, and before the end of July was sent on another cruise, with a larger force and a more important object. Besides the *Magicienne* and Ruby, the Cossack, four gunboats, and



four mortar-vessels were now placed under his command. Before the latter joined him he had already attacked some powerful batteries at Fredericksham, and silenced them, dismounting many of their guns; and, as soon as his squadron was complete, he conducted it against the strongly fortified island of Kotka, which lies at the mouth of the river Kymene, so near the mainland that it is connected with it by a bridge. He had understood it to be occupied by a strong garrison, and to cut off their retreat sent Captain Vansittart to destroy the bridge, an enterprise which, in spite of the shoals that obstructed the approach to it was executed with complete success: but when it was done it proved that there was no enemy to intercept; the garrison, like their comrades at Svartholm, hearing of his approach, had evacuated the forts, and had left him nothing to do but to destroy the batteries and large ranges of Government buildings, barracks, and magazines, with a vast quantity of military stores.

Meanwhile the Admiral was busily preparing for the attack on Sveaborg. From the first arrival of the fleet in the Baltic, Captain Key had been watching that fortress; on one occasion proceeding to more active operations. He had observed that there seemed to be a passage for small craft between the strongly fortified island of Sandhamm, which lies to the eastward, and the mainland, and on the 20th of June he endeavoured to move the *Amphion* into a situation which might enable him to close that entrance. But, as he advanced, he found himself assailed by a heavy cannonade, not only from the batteries which he had seen, but from others on both sides of the channel, of which he had not suspected the existence; while several gunboats also commanded the position which he had proposed to take up. He was forced to abandon his design: but, maintaining a resolute countenance in his retreat, he returned the enemy's fire with such vigour that he dismounted two of their guns, and blew up a large powder-

magazine. His ship was repeatedly hit, but he lost only one man killed, and seven wounded; and though his original plan was baffled, yet by ascertaining the strength of Sandhamm and the batteries on the adjacent mainland, he had performed a service which was highly praised by the Admiral as likely to prove most useful on the day of the great bombardment. But, as the time for that operation drew near, Dundas, as has been already mentioned, the better to divert the enemy's attention, began to multiply his attacks on other points also. He sent Rear-Admiral Seymour with his own ship, the *Blenheim*, and a couple of gunboats, the *Snap*, Lieutenant de Crespigny, and the *Pincher*, Lieutenant Stewart, to cannonade the fortifications of Narva, a task in which the two lieutenants particularly distinguished themselves by the rapidity of their manœuvres and the precision of their fire. Captain Warden, of the *Ajax*, with the *Harrier* corvette, and the small steamer *Firefly*, was despatched up the Gulf of Bothnia. The *Ajax* herself was too large to penetrate the different creeks and narrow channels with which the coast abounds, but lay in the offing to protect her lighter and more effective comrades, which were both exceedingly successful. Captain Storey, in the *Harrier*, at Nystad, captured one valuable merchant-vessel, and destroyed nearly fifty more; while Captain Otter, in the *Firefly*, went up to Brandon, the seaport of the important town of Wasa, having a very extensive dockyard for building merchant-vessels, and, on an island in its front, very extensive magazines. He, too, made prize of one vessel, and destroyed a great number more, with several large magazines, filled with every variety of shipbuilding stores, giving the inhabitants at the same time an acceptable proof of his considerate humanity, in forbearing to set them on fire till the wind, which at first blew towards the town, changed its direction, so that the conflagration could no longer injure their houses; and permitting the people

to avail themselves of the respite thus granted them to remove their private property. He had not, on his first arrival, seen any sign of troops; but the next day, while still lying off the island, he was suddenly assailed with a heavy fire of musketry, from a body of soldiers who had arrived in the course of the preceding night; he replied with his long guns, and routed them with a loss of nearly forty men, without sustaining any loss himself. As soon as the wind changed he set the magazines on fire with redhot shot, and prepared to withdraw: when he found himself exposed to a vigorous fire from a heavy battery just erected on a cliff commanding the entrance to the port, and from a body of riflemen concealed in a wood by its side. The channel was so narrow that he was unable to turn the *Firefly* in it, and consequently was forced to back her slowly astern; and this (still keeping up a steady fire, sometimes on the magazines, which were now blazing, and sometimes on the battery, and the riflemen), he successfully accomplished, and regained the open water without the loss of a single man.

This happened on the 8th of August; and the next morning was commenced the operation on which the chief expectations of the fleet and of the nation at home had been fixed ever since the beginning of the war, the bombardment of Sveaborg. The main body of the fleet had been lying at Nargen for some time, and on the 7th set sail, crossed the gulf, and again anchored at a distance of about two miles and a half from the devoted fortress. It was an imposing squadron that the Admiral brought against it: six ships of the line, including both the flagships, and some of his heaviest frigates and paddle-steamers; but the vessels by which the work was to be done were sixteen mortar-boats and the same number of gunboats that had been sent from England on purpose, aided by a few French vessels of the same kind; for the plan to be adopted was that which Captain Sullivan had suggested to Sir C. Napier in the pre-

ceding year, and the only particular in which it was not strictly adhered to was, that mortar-boats were placed among the rocky islets in front of the fortress, instead of mortars being placed on the islets themselves. To Sullivan, as its author, and as the officer best acquainted with the channels of approach, and the real character of the place, the general arrangement of the enterprise was committed. During the early part of the week he had carefully re-examined the whole, to make himself acquainted with the preparations of the garrison up to the latest minute. The fortress of Sveaborg consists of five islands. The two in the centre, which are also the two largest, are Vargon and East Svarto, the latter lying exactly behind the former, and being connected with it by a short bridge or causeway. On the left or eastern side of Vargon lies Gustafs-vard, separated by Vargon by a channel of only a few yards in width; on the right or western side lies West Svarto, the channel between the two being, at the time of our attack, occupied by an 80-gun ship, moored head and stern. Further on the right was the mainland, on which, at a short distance back, stands Helsingfors, the capital of Finland, and the shore of which bristled with newly erected earthworks of a very formidable character. Beyond Gustafs-vard on the other side was the larger island of Bak Holmen, also armed with heavy batteries, and having the channel in its front completely filled up by a large three-decker, moored, broadside on, with chains running through her bow and stern ports to the shore on each side. Neither Bak Holmen, however, nor Sandhamm were looked upon by the Russians as forming part of the fortress of Sveaborg. Besides barring two of the channels with visible ships, the Russians had sought to block up others by sinking a portion of their fleet in them; and others, which had been left open, they had sown with infernal machines, to be discharged by wires connected with the shore. The fortress itself had been greatly strengthened since the preceding year

by the enlargement of the batteries previously existing, and the addition of new ones, till the three principal islands, Vargon, Gustafsvard, and East Svarto, presented an almost unbroken line of works round their whole circumference. The batteries themselves, however, presenting only a narrow edge for shells to fall on, were nearly safe from a vertical fire; and the object aimed at by the allies was rather the destruction of the vast arsenals, Government buildings, and magazines of every kind of warlike stores which they were intended to protect.

In front of the fortress, at a distance of about a mile and a half, lies a cluster of rocky islets, the channels between which had been carefully sounded and buoyed by Captain Sullivan, and among them he now placed mortar-boats in a line forming a slight crescent, anchoring them three thousand nine hundred yards from the enemy's batteries, with four hawsers laid out from each vessel in front, on which she was to haul in six hundred yards nearer before opening her fire. At the request of Admiral Penaud the French mortar-boats, five in number, were placed in the centre, and our allies had also erected a small battery of four 9-inch mortars on one of the islands nearer to Gustafsvard, under two of their captains of Marine Artillery men; *Sapia* and *Mouvette*. To ensure that careful attention to minute details on which the success of such an enterprise must mainly depend, Admiral Dundas quitted his flagship, which could not approach within a mile of the mortar vessels, for the *Merlin*; and his French colleague, with similar zeal, went equally close in in one of his smaller vessels, at times even going on board one of his larger gun-boats, three of which did not join the divisions that kept on the move, but anchored inside the mortar-vessels.

It had been intended that the attack should begin before daybreak, and the hour originally fixed had been half-past two; but unavoidable delays intervened, and it was a quarter-past seven before the signal to open fire was made

# BOMBARDMENT OF SVEABORG

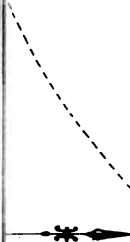
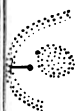
From a Swedish Plan.

Filled in by

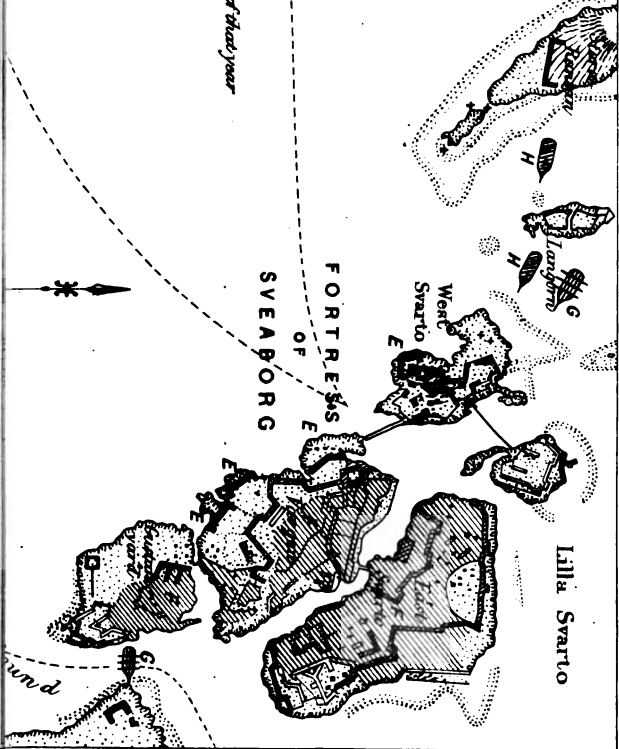
*Captain William A. R. N. P. S.*

- A. Positions of the Allied Gun Boats the first day.
- B. Positions to which a Portion advanced on the second day.
- C. C. The lines marked at each end by anchors indicate the howitzers laid down from each mortar boat.
- D. D. D. D. The circles in which the Gun Boats moved.
- E. E. E. E. Forts which did not exist in 1854, but were added in the Winter of that year.
- F. F. The Forts destroyed by the bombardment.
- G. G. Russian line of Battle Ships moved head astern.
- H. H. Russian Ships sunk to obstruct the Channel.
- English Ships: French D<sup>o</sup>: Russian D<sup>o</sup>:

Lancaster  
F Gun Boats A



FORTRESSES  
OF  
SVEABORG



Scale



from the flagship. Four prominent buildings had been pointed out as especial targets, and instantly one mortar was fired at each as an experimental shot. It was an anxious moment, and every eye in the squadron was anxiously scanning the effect of the shells; since everything depended on the correctness of the range that had been adopted. With such accuracy of measurement and calculation, however, had the mortar vessels been placed by Captain Sullivan, and so admirably was he seconded by Captain Wemyss, who, with Captain Lawrence and Captain Schomberg of the Marine Artillery, had the chief management of the mortars, that the whole four shells fell precisely on the spots at which they had been aimed, and little clouds of smoke rising almost simultaneously from the buildings which they had struck, already foreshadowed the result of the day.

The whole line of mortar-boats now commenced a rapid and admirably sustained fire; indeed, since their first invention, mortars had never been employed with such vigour. It had previously been considered indispensable, after each discharge, to allow a gun of that kind several minutes to cool; and to fire seven shots in an hour was esteemed the very utmost effort that could be made with safety. But Captain Wemyss, justly considering that such long intervals between the fall of each shell would give the Russians leisure to extinguish the flames which they might kindle, ventured to innovate on the old practice, and throughout the morning reloaded and fired as fast as he could; sending thirty shells an hour from each mortar, and thus quickly producing a conflagration which the enemy had neither time nor power to subdue. The Russian batteries too, with guns far more numerous, were not less active, but at first sent back a furious storm of shot and shell from the whole front of their works, till they found that a great proportion of their shot fell short, when they ceased employing more than a few heavy



mortars of long range against our mortar-vessels, and directed their principal attention to the gunboats. These, in addition to their ordinary armament, had each a 10-inch gun lent them from the line-of-battle ships, and now under the command of Commodore Pelham, the captain of the fleet, aided by Captain G. Ramsay, Captain Vansittart, Captain Glasse, Captain W. H. Stewart of the Dragon, and Commander Preedy of the Duke of Wellington, as commanders of the separate divisions, went in front of the mortar-boats, not anchoring, but moving unceasingly in circles amid the reefs and shoals, each boat delivering her fire as she came opposite to the enemy's fortifications. One pair, armed with long Lancaster guns, the Snapper and the Stork, were placed under the command of Captain Hewlett of the Edinburgh, and were detached to attack the large ship between Gustafsvard and Bak Holmen, which they cannonaded with admirable activity. The garrison, seeing them all clearly within range, replied to them for a time with great spirit; but their movements were so rapid, and their size so small, that they scarcely suffered at all. In fact the enemy had no power whatever to retaliate on us the injuries which they themselves were sustaining.

Before the bombardment had lasted three hours, it had become evident that the principal ranges of buildings in Vargon had taken fire. Dense clouds of smoke arose in every quarter, and two violent and loud explosions were heard above the roar of the guns. The seamen cheered loudly, and, encouraged by this evidence of their success, redoubled their efforts; and at twelve o'clock they seemed to have found out and reached some large powder-magazines, for suddenly a long succession of enormous explosions, to the number of twenty or thirty, took place at the back of Gustafsvard, while immense fragments of building thrown up into the air, and hundreds of shells, exploding as they rose, attested the greatness of the destruction. At

every explosion the sailors renewed their cheers; and the shells which in this direction went beyond their mark did almost equal damage: many of them, and especially those from the French island-battery, striking the three-decker in the channel to the westward, killing nearly seventy of her men, and kindling fires in her which were with difficulty extinguished; till at last they compelled her to relinquish her position, and to retreat into the open water behind the fortress, where she was entirely useless.

While these operations were thus proceeding in the centre, care was taken that the garrisons of the forts on either side should not be left at leisure to send thither any assistance. The indefatigable *Arrogant*, with one or two smaller vessels under Captain Yelverton's orders, was detached to the western side to attack the island of Drumsio, where a large body of disposable troops had been observed, and about which several small vessels were continually hovering; and a more powerful squadron, consisting of the *Cornwallis*, *Hastings*, and *Amphion*, under the command of Captain G. Wellesley, moved at the same time to the eastward to engage the heavy batteries on Sandhamm. The first squadron was entirely successful: indeed the garrison in Drumsio offered no resistance whatever to Captain Yelverton; and Captain Wellesley silenced some of the guns on Sandhamm, and greatly damaged the batteries, though he did not succeed in disabling them, nor in destroying a frigate moored in one of the narrow channels, against which at night he sent the boats of his squadron with rockets. However, the confinement of the attention of those garrisons to their own defence was the principal object of these subordinate attacks, and this end was completely attained.

Before sunset Admiral Dundas recalled the gunboats, and at ten o'clock in the evening he withdrew the mortar-vessels also; and the attack on Vargon, and the other central islands, was now taken up by a new description of

force, the boats of the fleet, armed with rockets, and sent in under Captain Caldwell of the Duke of Wellington. By them the engagement was continued without intermission throughout the night; and at daybreak some of the mortar-vessels and gunboats reopened their fire. The former were hardly calculated to be as effective as on the previous day; for their mortars had been greatly worn and weakened by the incessant use that had then been made of them. One or two even burst in the course of the morning, and it seemed plain that, in order to continue to use them with safety, their charge must be diminished. East Svarto, however, had not been reached by the bombardment of the preceding day, and therefore it was arranged that the next morning one division of English and three French mortar-boats should be moved four hundred yards nearer to the fortress. Captain Sullivan, with the aid of Captain Stewart and Captain Vansittart, placed them carefully in their new positions, and again at half-past five in the morning they opened their fire. The enemy, too, who during the night had brought up some guns of longer range than they had previously employed, resumed their cannonade, and replied to ours with greater vigour than ever. But still they failed to do us any damage, while the increasing density of the columns of smoke mingled with rapidly-spreading flame, showed that our shells were reaching magazines in the rear of Vargon, with the arsenal and the buildings on East Svarto. Before evening they were all enveloped in one sheet of flame; and our fire, which was maintained without intermission (the rocket boats, this night under the command of Captain G. Seymour, again relieving the mortar-vessels and gunboats as soon as the darkness of the night allowed them to approach sufficiently near to the batteries), was continued rather with the object of preventing the enemy from attempting to extinguish the conflagration than of adding to it. In truth, it seemed no longer capable of increase. As day-

light went down, one unbroken sheet of flame spread over the whole horizon in front of our fleet, devouring the entire range of buildings that covered Vargon and East and West Svarto, with the exception of one or two detached buildings, and of the narrow line of batteries that ran along the front, which we had never expected to injure.

At daybreak, on the 11th, the conflagration was raging more fiercely than ever; and, the enemy's batteries having ceased to reply to our fire, Admiral Dundas considered his task completed, and, after a consultation with his French colleague, decided on discontinuing the action. He had good reason to be satisfied with what had been done. The attack on Sveaborg had been the first instance in the history of war of an attempt to destroy a first-class fortress by shells thrown from a distance which should protect the assailants from any corresponding damage; and those who had planned it had abundant reason to be satisfied, not only with the completeness of the success, but also with the smallness of the cost at which it had been achieved. The Russian loss of life had been enormous: of a regiment of a thousand men stationed at Gustafsvard nearly the whole had fallen. On Vargon and East and West Svarto, where the garrison had been more numerous, the slaughter had been proportionally heavier; but in the allied fleets not a single man had been killed, and the few who had been wounded, who, in the British contingent, did not exceed fifteen or sixteen, belonged chiefly to the Cornwallis and Amphion, and had received their injuries in the engagement with the Sandhamm batteries. The bombardment itself had been perfect, both in the destruction it inflicted on the enemy and in the impunity which it secured to the bombarders.

After a day or two, the fleet returned to its anchorage at Nargen. The question of proceeding to attack Helsingfors was considered; but, as the utmost that could have been done would have been the destruction of the dwellings

of the peaceful citizens, it was mercifully and properly spared: nor was any other enterprise undertaken by the fleet during the remainder of the year. A few more prizes of vessels with naval stores were occasionally made; and at the beginning of October the fleet once more returned to Seskar to continue its defiance of the enemy in Cronstadt to the latest moment. By the middle of the month the winter began to set in, and the Admiral commenced reducing his force, sending his gunboats and sailing-vessels home; but it was not till heavy storms of snow had shown the season for any further operations to be wholly past, that, on the 12th of November, he himself quitted the Gulf of Finland for Kiel. From thence, at the end of the first week in December, he sailed for England, and in a few days more the whole fleet was safe in its own harbours.

It was not called upon to return. The fall of Sebastopol had been the signal for the opening of negociations, which were conducted at Paris during the winter, and were terminated in the spring by the conclusion of a peace. The express stipulations of the treaty, by which Russia consented to the permanent dismantling of the fortifications of Sebastopol, agreed to the exclusion of her ships of war from the Black Sea, and even gave up a portion of Bessarabia to form a stronger frontier for Moldavia, greatly secured Turkey against any further encroachments on the part of her ambitious and unfriendly neighbour. And more than even by the conditions of the treaty was she strengthened by the exposure which the war had made of the utter weakness of Russia for all purposes of aggression. Her territory had been successfully invaded; her armies had been defeated: several of her strongest fortresses had been destroyed; her fleets had never for a moment ventured to quit their harbours; one had even been sunk by its commanders, as the only way of preserving it from capture.

And of the glory of having brought the war to so speedy and triumphant a termination, our fleet was well entitled to an equal share with the army. It could indeed hardly be said to have borne any part in the glorious victory of the Alma; in that of Inkermann it had certainly taken none at all; but these were almost the only occasions on which its influence had been unfelt. Even in what might appear to be the purely military work of the bombardment of Sebastopol from the heights, the Naval Brigade had borne no unimportant nor ineffectual share. Whilst to the chastisement inflicted on Odessa, to the conquest of Kinburn, to the admirable sweeping of the Sea of Azov in the south, to the destruction of Sveaborg, and the repeated defiance of the great Cronstadt fleet in the north, it could proudly point as its own unassisted exploits. What was not less honorable to its commanders, its power had been throughout tempered with mercy; and these successes had been attained with less injury to the peaceful inhabitants of the districts in which our flag thus flew triumphant than could previously have been imagined, or than could possibly have been inflicted, had not the entire body of the crews, from the Admiral down to the youngest midshipman or the rudest sailor, felt in his inmost heart, that humanity amidst victory is not only the first duty of a Christian, but also the best proof of real courage in the warrior.

## CHAPTER XLV.

1834—1842.

War with China—The *Andromache* conveys Lord Napier to Macao—Captain Price Blackwood arrives in the *Imogene*—The ships force the passage of the Boca Tigris—Peace—Fresh disturbances—Captain Smith routs a flotilla at Chuenpee—Sir Gordon Bremer is sent to China—Takes Chusan—Captain Bouchier captures Amoy—Admiral Elliot takes the command—Sir Gordon Bremer enters the Chukiang—Hong Kong is ceded to us—Capture of the Bogue Forts—The fleet advances to Canton—Captain Herbert penetrates the Macao Channel—Fleet retires—Sir H. L. Senhouse resumes operations against Canton—Gallantry of Commander Warren—Capture of Canton—Sir William Parker takes the command—Capture of Amoy—Of Chinhae and Ningpo—Rout of the Chinese at Tzehee—Capture of Chopoo—Decisive defeat of Chinese at Woosung—Capture of Shanghai—Ascent of the Yang-tse-kiang—The fleet arrives at Nankin—Conclusion of peace.

DURING nearly the same period that was covered by these wars, of which their bearing upon the interests of Turkey was the connecting link, we were also from time to time engaged in another series of hostilities in China. The distance from our own shores at which they were carried on, and our general contempt for these new enemies as a semibarbarous people, naturally engendering an assurance of easy victory, have throughout contributed to prevent the Chinese wars from being regarded at home with the same painful and absorbing interest which was excited by our Crimean campaigns. Yet apart from all considerations of the antiquity and early civilization of what its own cities dignify with the title of the Celestial Empire, its unequalled populousness, the fertility of its soil, coupled with an extent of territory so great that almost every variety of climate is to be found within its borders; and the fact that, after its sovereign and people had been wrapt for centuries in arrogant, and apparently

impenetrable exclusiveness, our success in these wars has compelled them to admit us, and with us the other nations of Christendom, to a freedom of commercial intercourse, of which the whole world will derive the benefit, are circumstances that might well awaken the attention of either statesman or student; while the occurrences of the wars themselves giving occasion in their progress, not only to the ordinary displays of gallantry which every campaign calls forth, but also to many most remarkable exhibitions of seamanship in penetrating shallow and intricate rivers, which were previously entirely unknown, are especially deserving of careful study on the part of every sailor, and of every admirer of the sailor's character and the sailor's exploits.

The trade between Britain and China had long been in the hands of the East India Company, when, in 1833, the alterations in the Company's charter threw it open to the whole body of our merchants. At the same time it was provided that a Royal Commission should be established at Canton, the chief seat of the trade, to superintend it. Lord Napier was appointed the chief commissioner; the *Andromache* frigate, Captain Chads, was selected for his conveyance: and early in 1834 he quitted England, and on the 13th of July arrived off Macao, at the mouth of the Chukiang, or the Canton River, as it is commonly called by us, from the great city which is built on its banks at a distance of about seventy miles from the sea.

About thirty miles up the River, on its eastern bank, is Chuenpee, a fortified island, the channel in front of which affords a good anchorage for large vessels, and, a little farther on, some rocky islands divide the stream into two channels; the eastern of which, from Tiger Island, which faces it a little higher up the stream, is known as the Boca Tigris: the islands and the banks on each side being armed with heavy batteries, known to Europeans as the Bogue Forts, and originally believed by the Chinese to be of a



strength which no ships could resist. The *Andromache* anchored at Chuenpee, and Lord Napier and Captain Chads proceeded to Canton in the ship's cutter. But the authorities of the city professed great displeasure at their having thus advanced without permission; and began to drop hints that the forts would fire on the cutter, if she continued to pass and repass between the ship and the city. The Captain, however, warned them that firing on a British ship would be a dangerous experiment; and, having no idea that the Chinese would ever venture to carry their displeasure beyond words, began to prepare to sail for Bengal, to join Admiral Sir John Gore, the Commander-in-chief on that station. Lord Napier, however, who felt less certain of their real disposition and intentions, requested him to content himself with making a mere show of departure, and, after cruising for a week in the open sea, to return to Chuenpee, by which time he himself should have seen how they behaved to him when no longer under the pressure of the alarm excited in them by the presence of a British man-of-war. Off Macao, Chads fell in with Captain Price Blackwood, in the *Imogene* frigate, who, as the senior officer, took him under his orders: and this addition of strength proved very useful when, on the 17th August, a letter arrived from Lord Napier, announcing that the Chinese had stopped the trade, and were giving unmistakable signs of their intention to proceed to acts of direct hostility; on the receipt of which intelligence Captain Blackwood at once re-entered the river with both frigates, and anchored off Lintin, an island opposite the northern point of Macao.

The Chinese, however, were exasperated rather than intimidated by their presence; and treated Lord Napier with daily increasing insolence, till in the beginning of September they proceeded so far as to break open his baggage, to seize his servants, to blockade his house with soldiers, and to prevent him from procuring provisions; while the insults offered to British merchants residing in

Canton were of an equally gross and of a still more mischievous character; and were also more important, from being sanctioned by the authority of the Viceroy, who ventured to use haughty and threatening language to Lord Napier himself. That nobleman, wisely thinking it necessary to assume a firm and even menacing attitude, instead of withdrawing, as the Viceroy evidently anticipated, sent to the ships for a guard of marines, and at the same time requested Captain Blackwood to move the ships up to Whampoa, an island and anchorage within five miles of the city. His message reached Captain Blackwood on the afternoon of the 5th of September, and that officer sent the marines at once: but, as the ebb-tide was running too strongly for the ships to venture to encounter it in the dark, he delayed his own advance till the next day. On the morning of the 6th, having first given orders to the merchant-ships at the mouth of the river to remain off Lintin, he proceeded up the river, not waiting for regular pilots, but trusting to the experience of Captain C. Elliot in the *Louisa* cutter, who went before him as his guide, and to his own vigilance, for the safety of the ships. His passage up an almost unknown stream was necessarily slow; and it was not till the morning of the 7th that he reached Chuenpee, when he found that the Chinese were serious in the threats which they had uttered; for, as he came abreast of that island, its batteries, and those on the opposite island of Tycocktow, opened fire upon him; though, as he kept the middle of the channel, none of their shots did him any injury: nor did he think it worth while to reply. But when he reached the *Boca Tigris* the case was different; that passage is within short range of the forts on the islands and on the mainland; and when they began to cannonade him they struck his ships repeatedly. Still, desirous to avoid bloodshed, he abstained from returning their fire till some of his men were wounded; after which, such forbearance would have be-

come criminal. And while still moving onward, he began to let them feel the power of his broadsides. In appearance it was an unequal combat, for the Chinese batteries mounted ninety-four heavy guns; and from the number and intricacy of the shoals, the ships were forced to make many tacks which exposed them to be raked on each side successively. But the superiority of our gunners more than counterbalanced the inferiority of our force; and, while, inflicting severe injury on his assailants, Blackwood sustained very little himself. The breeze was so light that, though the space commanded by the forts was not above half a mile in length, the frigates were an hour and a quarter in passing it: but at last they reached the open water above, and, the wind having now become dead foul, and very rough, the squadron was forced to anchor. Nor was it possible to proceed till the afternoon of the 9th, when fair weather returned; and Blackwood at once pushed on for Tiger Island. That, too, was strongly fortified with a battery of eighteen large guns; and the Chinese, exasperated at our success in passing the Bogue Forts, and at the evidently slight injury which they had done to our vessels, which they attributed to the distance at which the action had taken place, reserved their fire till the *Imogene* came within three hundred yards of their guns; when they opened a furious cannonade on the squadron. The shortness of the range, however, proved more injurious to themselves than to us: for we completely silenced and disabled the battery; and, borne on by a light, but fair breeze, and a flood-tide, the whole squadron reached Whampoa the same evening. Our entire loss had been two men killed and ten wounded. That of the Chinese was unknown; but it was believed to have been severe: and it was certain that our success had convinced the Chinese of their inability to contend with us. Their principal magistrates at once began to humble themselves before Lord Napier; entreating him

to forget all that had passed, and to come to an amicable arrangement. His language was moderate but firm. He contented himself with demanding the release of his servants, the opening of the trade, and security that his own countrymen, and all other Europeans, should in future be treated with proper respect. They tried to cajole him; they tried to deceive him: but at last, finding that he despised their flatteries, and saw through their falsehoods, and being, moreover, fully conscious that they had no available force capable of contending with him, they submitted to his demands. He, according to his promise, removed the frigates to the mouth of the river; and peace was restored.

Lord Napier unfortunately died a few days after he had brought the matter to this successful termination; but the impression made on the Chinese by the lesson which they had received did not wear out immediately, and for some time they adhered with good faith to the arrangements which they had made. But, at the end of four years, it became apparent that this peaceful state of affairs would not long continue. The opening of the Chinese trade had, almost inevitably, brought with it a great increase of smuggling, which the Chinese showed a determination to put down; resolving at the same time to check the trade in opium, which our merchants had begun to import in large quantities, and which was especially displeasing to the authorities at Canton, on account, as they alleged, of the demoralising effects of an unrestrained indulgence in that unwholesome drug; but, if our suspicions were correct, still more from its tendency to drain the country of silver in which the chief payments for it were made. It does not belong to a work like the present to enter further into the origin or the political details of the dispute; and it is sufficient here to say that the Chinese authorities soon began to show a resolution to enforce the edicts which they had issued on the subject by arms if necessary;

being greatly encouraged by the conciliatory, or, as it might almost be called, humble language of our Commissioner Captain Elliot, which they looked upon not only as a proper acknowledgment of their dignity, but as a proof of our weakness. We had but two ships in the Chukiang at the time, the 28-gun frigate *Volage*, Captain H. Smith, and the 18-gun sloop, *Hyacinth*, Commander Warren; and the Chinese thought it would not be difficult to expel so small a force from the Chukiang altogether. Accordingly, on the 3rd of November, 1839, their Admiral, Kwan, led a flotilla of twenty-nine war-junks and fire-ships to attack them. They were lying off the little island of Lankeet, a few miles below Chuenpee; and, after a futile attempt to avoid bloodshed by opening a negotiation which was rejected by the Chinese with studied discourtesy, Captain Smith moved towards the flotilla, and in a short time utterly routed it, sinking one junk, blowing up three, and disabling the greater portion of the remainder, with no further loss than that of one man wounded and some slight injury to the *Hyacinth's* mainyard.

The Chinese, however, made light of this defeat, or rather, when a few days afterwards our vessels returned to the mouth of the river, claimed it as a victory. And therefore, to convince them of their mistake, a powerful squadron was equipped, which on the 21st of June, 1840, reached Macao under the command of Commodore Sir Gordon Bremer. That officer took his measures with great decision and promptitude. He instantly established a blockade of the Chukiang and port of Canton, and, leaving a division of smaller vessels to maintain it, he himself pushed on to the northward. The force which he took with him consisted of his own ship, the *Wellesley*, 74; the 28-gun frigates, *Conway*, Captain Bethune, and *Alligator*, Captain Kuper; two sloops, the *Cruiser*, 16, Commander Giffard, and the *Algerine*, 10, Lieutenant Mason; the *Atalanta* and *Queen*, a couple of war-steamers belonging to the East India Company, and four transports, with a small body of troops

under the command of Brigadier Burrell. And with these he resolved to attack the great island of Chusan. It was strongly fortified, and defended by a numerous garrison, and it was certain that, as soon as it was supposed to be in danger, attempts would be made to reinforce it. No time, however, was given for such a measure. The moment that the squadron anchored, the Commodore sent Captain Bethune in the *Atalanta* to reconnoitre and take soundings of the channel; and the next morning, the 4th of July, he entered the harbour with the whole combined force. The Chinese were seen to be busily employed in preparing for their defence on shore, and three-and-twenty war junks were also drawn up in line of battle. The British force however was so evidently the stronger that our commanders entertained a hope that no serious resistance could be attempted; and at once sent a summons to the Governor to surrender. No satisfactory or definite answer, however, could be obtained, and there was therefore no alternative but to have recourse to arms. The next morning as soon as the tide would allow, the troops landed, and pushed on towards the city, while the whole squadron covered their advance with a heavy cannonade. The Chinese replied; but were so ignorant of the very principles of gunnery that their fire was almost harmless; at the end of a few minutes they fled in precipitate confusion; and a detachment of the troops hoisted the British flag on the deserted batteries. The city Tinghaheen, however, about a mile from the shore still held out; and as its walls were very solid, and in some parts very high, and were also surrounded by a moat twenty-five feet deep, it was necessary to erect a battery on land to reach it: and in the course of the night the soldiers constructed one of ten guns. But the next morning when they were ready to open their fire, it was found that the city was evacuated, and the whole island was surrendered. Its reduction had only cost us one man wounded, a seaman belonging to the *Conway*;

while so brief had been the resistance of the Chinese that our commanders did not believe their loss to exceed five-and-twenty or thirty.

Four days before, Captain Bouchier of the *Blonde*, 44, had given an almost equally severe lesson to the garrison of Amoy, an island halfway between Macao and Chusan. He had endeavoured to open a communication with the authorities by sending in a boat with a flag of truce; but they, confiding in a flotilla of war-junks, a couple of batteries on shore, and a strong body of troops which they had at hand, thought themselves more than a match for a single ship; and the troops fired on the boat, while at the same time the batteries opened on the frigate. She replied, and with a couple of broadsides silenced both the batteries, and put the soldiers to flight; with a few more guns routed the war-junks; and then, having no instructions to occupy Amoy, Captain Bouchier again stood out to sea.

The day that Chusan surrendered Admiral Elliot arrived in the *Melville*, 74, to take the command: and at first he seemed disposed to conduct his operations with the same energy that had been displayed by the Commodore. He had brought with him Captain Elliott, our principal commissioner at Canton, who, as such, was invested with the chief diplomatic authority in China; and, after a short stay at Chusan, he proceeded with the greater part of the squadron to the mouth of the Peiho, the river on which Peking is situated. The Chinese were greatly offended and alarmed at his presence, and treated him with a civility which they never show to foreigners except under the immediate pressure of fear. They allowed him to purchase supplies for his ships, and, with promises of granting all his demands, entreated him to return to Canton, that Captain Elliott and a plenipotentiary of their own might come to an amicable arrangement in that city. It showed great ignorance of the Chinese character to comply with such a request: but the Admiral did comply, and the Chinese,

attributing his conduct to a conviction of his inability to proceed further, began to treat us with a repetition of their previous insolence. They sent Keshen, one of the chief nobles and councillors of the empire, to Canton; ostensibly with powers to conclude a treaty, but, in reality, with instructions to protract negotiations till Canton should be sufficiently strengthened to bid us defiance. Keshen, a perfect master of all the arts of evasion, contrived to amuse our Commissioner till the beginning of the ensuing year. But by that time his real object had become so plain that Captain Elliott broke off the negociation, and announced its termination to Sir Gordon Bremer, who, Admiral Elliot having been taken ill, was again in command of the British squadron.

As in the preceding summer, the Commodore lost no time. The Chinese had not only strongly strengthened Canton and the banks of the river on each side of the Boca Tigris with additional batteries, but had likewise sought to obstruct the passage of the river by sinking large boats laden with stone; however he felt quite able to show them that a British squadron could surmount all obstacles such as they could oppose to him; and, selecting the forts on Chuenpee and Tycocktow as the objects of his first attack, on the 7th of January he landed a mixed force of soldiers belonging to the British and Indian armies, under Major Pratt of the 26th, and of sailors from the ships, with three guns, at Chuenpee. The task of dragging the guns into their desired position on a ridge which commanded the Chinese forts fell, as usual, to the seamen, under Lieutenant Wilson of the *Blenheim*, who, having quickly completed a small battery, opened fire upon the enemy from the land; while Captain Herbert of the *Calliope*, with the *Hyacinth* and *Larne*, and a little higher up Commander E. Belcher with the *Sulphur*, *Queen*, and *Nemesis*,\* attacked them with

\* The *Nemesis*, too, was a small steamer belonging to the navy of the East India Company, but was under the command of Mr. W. H. Hall, Master, R.N., who, as a reward for his services in her, was promoted from the Masters' list,



round-shot and shell from the sea. Under this combined attack the forts on Chuenpee soon fell : and at the same time Captain Scott in the Samarang, with the Druid, Modeste, and Columbine under his orders, first silenced the batteries and Tycocktow, and then landed a party of seamen who stormed and destroyed them. A flotilla of war-junks remained, and they were attacked and destroyed by the Nemesis, Master W. H. Hall ; the Starling, Lieutenant Kellett ; and the boats of the Calliope, under Lieutenant Watson. The whole of this success had been achieved with the loss of one officer, Lieutenant Bower of the Samarang, killed ; two officers, Lieutenant Bingham, Midshipman A. Vyner, and eight men wounded : that sustained by the force employed on shore had not been much more serious ; and the consternation which it caused among the Chinese was so great that the next day, when the squadron approached the Bogue Forts, the colours were hauled down, and Keshen expressed a willingness to concede all our demands. In effect within the next few days he signed a preliminary treaty, by which he agreed to reopen the trade : to cede to us the harbour and island of Hong Kong at the mouth of the river Chukiang as a perpetual possession, and to pay a large sum as indemnity for the expenses of the war and the injuries inflicted on our merchants.

It soon, however, appeared that even the consent to this treaty was only a trick on the part of Keshen. Hong Kong was indeed made over to us, and on the 26th of January the Commodore took formal possession of it in the name of Queen Victoria. But, on the 2nd of February, which is the first day of the Chinese year, and on which the issue of a decree for the re-opening of the trade had been promised, no such decree was published ; but instead of it, a request for further delay was sent to Captain Elliott. He acquiesced apparently without suspicion ; Sir Gordon, however, with greater penetration perceived

---

and became a post-captain, with which rank, as has been mentioned in the preceding chapter, he commanded the Hecla in the Baltic in 1854.

that a renewal of hostilities would be necessary to bring the Chinese to their senses, and at once began to prepare for it. Soon intelligence reached him from Canton by which he learnt that, ever since the retirement of the squadron to Hong Kong, they had been busily employed in strengthening the Bogue Forts, and especially those on the islands in the river, with additional guns; that troops were being levied and collected at Anunghoy; that a reward had been offered for his head and that of Captain Elliott: and at last, on the 19th of February, the *Nemesis*, which, in accordance with Keshen's desire, had been sent up the river to receive a communication from him, arrived with the intelligence that the promised communication had not been made, and that, as she passed the Bogue Forts, she had been fired at by them. Sir Gordon properly resolved to avenge the insult. He instantly sent forward Captain Herbert with the *Calliope* and *Nemesis*, following himself as soon as he had collected the rest of his squadron. The wind was so light as to delay him longer than he desired; but on the 24th he weighed from Hong Kong with a force such as had never yet been seen in the Chinese waters. Three two-deckers, the *Wellesley*, his own ship, the *Blenheim*, Captain Sir H. Senhouse, and the *Melville*, Captain Bethune; five frigates, the *Calliope*, *Samarang*, *Alligator*, *Druid*,\* and *Herald*; the *Modeste*, 18, the *Queen*, and four rocket-boats, composed this squadron: that night they anchored off Chuenpee, and the next morning proceeded sufficiently near the Boca Tigris to reconnoitre the forts, and to make arrangements for an immediate attack.

Before the arrival of the main body, Captain Herbert in the *Nemesis*, as drawing less water than the *Calliope*, and, with the boats of his own frigate, had passed up the narrow channel at the back of the island of Anunghoy,

\* The commanding officers of the *Druid*, 44, *Herald*, 28, and *Modeste*, 18, were Captains Smith, Nias, and Eyres.

and, after a sharp action, had destroyed a masked battery of twenty guns. But, even when thus crippled, the island, with the rocks in the channel, was still a fortress of very formidable character. On Anunghoy itself were five batteries mounting not fewer than a hundred and seventy-two guns, many of them 42-pounders, some still larger, with 10-inch and 8-inch guns of unusual length; and the rocky island of North Wantong was almost equally strong, being, as the Commodore described it in his despatch, one continued battery of a hundred and sixty-seven guns, some of which were even larger than any of those on Anunghoy. South Wantong was not fortified nor garrisoned, but the channel between it and Anunghoy was barred by a number of rafts moored by chain-cables to both shores. The Chinese looked upon the whole line of defence as absolutely impregnable: but the Commodore was about to teach them that the strength of a place depends not on its walls or guns, but on the skill and courage of the garrison. On the night of the 25th he threw a party of artillery on South Wantong, who speedily constructed a two-gun battery, from which at daybreak the next morning they poured shells and rockets on both North Wantong and Anunghoy, and about eleven o'clock in the day, a light breeze having sprung up, the fleet itself worked up to the forts in two divisions, and began the action. The attack on Anunghoy was entrusted to Sir H. Senhouse in the *Blenheim*, with the *Melville*, the *Queen*, and the four rocket-boats. Their broadsides were delivered so rapidly, and were aimed with such terrible precision, that the fire of the enemy soon began to slacken; and, before they could recover from their confusion, Sir Humphrey, at the head of a body of marines, himself landed on the island, stormed the great southern battery of forty-two guns, proceeding onwards with an impetuosity that nothing could resist, carried the other four batteries in rapid succession: and in less than two hours made himself master of the

whole island. The Commodore himself was equally irresistible at North Wantong. The fire of his division, consisting of the Wellesley, Calliope, Samarang, Alligator, Druid, Herald, and Modeste, silenced the principal batteries, and then Major Pratt with his soldiers, landing in the rear of the largest fort, which was at the south-eastern end of the island, took the intermediate batteries one after another in reverse, and stormed them in succession, almost without resistance, so that in less than a quarter of an hour he reached the northern fort, which he mastered with equal ease ; making prisoners of the whole garrison of thirteen hundred men. Those taken prisoners on Anunghoy were about equal in number : and the lowest estimate computed the number of Chinese who had been slain at five hundred men ; among whom was Kwan, the Admiral commanding-in chief. Our loss amounted to ten men wounded, five in the army, and five in the fleet.

The Chinese, however, were not yet wholly subdued. The line-of-battle ships could not proceed above Wantong ; but the Commodore gave Captain Herbert a squadron consisting of the greater part of the small vessels ; and with them and a strong party of marines in the boats of the ships left behind, that officer pushed on towards Whampoa, and, as he approached that island, discovered a strong battery of fifty heavy guns on the left bank of the river ; and in front of it the largest flotilla of war-junks that we had yet seen, consisting of upwards of forty well-armed vessels, with a large frigate-rigged vessel as their flagship, which had formerly, under the name of the Cambridge, been known as one of our own East Indiamen ; but was now a man-of-war with thirty-four guns. Captain Herbert decided on an immediate attack ; and, led by Commander E. Belcher, in the Sulphur, to whose accurate survey of the stream the expedition was greatly indebted for its safe advance, the squadron stood close in, and began to deliver its broadsides with such vigour and precision that the

battery was soon disabled. Instantly Captain Herbert himself landed at the head of a small body of seamen and marines, and, though the fort was still occupied by two thousand Chinese troops, carried it by storm; while his First-lieutenant, Mr. Watson,\* with his own boats and those of the *Nemesis* and *Modeste*, was equally successful in boarding and capturing the *Cambridge*. The next day but one Sir Gordon himself arrived in the *Madagascar* steamer, bringing with him a powerful reinforcement of marines belonging to the *Wellesley*: and, having taken the command, prosecuted his advance rapidly, encountering another heavy battery which, like all the rest, was soon overpowered; the *Sulphur* cannonading it from the river, while Lieutenant Symonds of the *Wellesley* landed with his marines and carried it by storm. Howqua Fort, at the Northern end of Whampoa, though mounting upwards of a hundred guns, and calculated to hold a still greater number, was abandoned at our approach, and Canton was evidently at our mercy when Captain Elliott once more urged the Commodore, and Major General Sir Hugh Gough, who had just arrived to take the command of the land-forces, to suspend hostilities, in the hope that the Chinese were now sufficiently terrified to be willing not only to submit to our demands, but to adhere to the agreements which they might make with us.

Though reports that the Chinese above Canton were busy preparing fire-ships and erecting forts had reached the Commodore, which made him distrust the sincerity of their desire for peace, he so far complied with the Commissioner's request as to suspend his advance upon Canton; but thought it as well to increase the impression that his exploits in the main river must have made, by sending two detachments into a small side-stream which, under the name of the Macao or Broadway Channel, leaves the

\* The same officer, who in 1854 and 1855 commanded the *Impérieuse*, in the *Baltic*.

Chukiang two miles above Canton, and unites with it again at the back of the island of Macao: having also one or two narrow passages into it at different points. The Chinese believed it to be in every part wholly inaccessible to any vessels larger than their own boats. But Captain Elliott, who during his residence at Canton had acquired a considerable knowledge of the character of all the neighbouring waters, did not share this opinion; and Sir Gordon, convinced of the superior accuracy of his judgment, directed Captain Scott and Captain Herbert to force their way into and up the channel in question. Their frigates, it was certain, drew too much water to be able to pass; but to Captain Scott he gave the *Nemesis* steamer, with some of the largest boats belonging to the *Samarang* and *Atalanta*, those which could carry them being armed with howitzers and carronades: and Captain Herbert had his boats, the *Modeste*, the *Madagascar* steamer, and also the assistance of Lieutenant Collinson of the *Bentinck* as a pilot. Both officers achieved entire success. Captain Scott entered the channel at its southernmost point, and had to fight his way throughout his whole course. In some places the river was staked: once a flotilla of nine well-armed junks were arrayed to dispute his passage. Five forts, skilfully-placed, strongly-built, and mounting, between them, fifty-seven heavy guns, commanded those parts of the stream where the navigation was most intricate and difficult, and where consequently our men, as they advanced, were longest exposed to their fire. But nothing availed to stop them. The *Nemesis* threw the garrisons of the forts into confusion with her shot, shell and rockets, and then the seamen landing, stormed the batteries and disabled the guns. The *Samarang's* First-lieutenant, Mr. Bower, led a division of the boats against the junks, and, though they were armed with nearly fifty guns, destroyed seven of them, as well as a strong battery of seven guns which covered their position. Two or three

bodies of infantry were easily dispersed, and in two days Captain Scott, passing into the main stream by one of the side-channels, rejoined his Commadore, with no greater damage than that of three men slightly wounded. The distance which Captain Herbert had to traverse was not so long, nor consequently were the obstacles so numerous: but one was of a more formidable character than any that Captain Scott had encountered. Close to the point where the Macao Channel first quits the Chukiang, a strong raft had been moored across the stream as a barrier; and it was protected by a regularly-built fort with twenty-two guns, and by a field-battery of eight more. Both opened vigorously on our men as they approached; but, under cover of a steady fire from the ships, Captain Bethune of the Conway, who had accompanied Captain Herbert as a volunteer, landed the crews of the boats at the foot of the fort, and was preparing to storm it when the Chinese fled in every direction. Here also our loss was limited to three men wounded: and the success thus attained gave us the command of the river both above and below the city.

It was not without reason that Sir Gordon Bremer had distrusted the sincerity of the Chinese in professing a desire for peace; for, in spite of the helpless situation to which Captain Herbert's last operation had reduced them, they ventured two or three days afterwards, to fire on a flag of truce which Captain Elliott sent on shore with a despatch to their own Imperial Commissioner. On hearing of this outrage, Captain Elliott very properly thought it unnecessary to wait for orders; but at once took upon himself to chastise it. Besides the *Modeste* and *Madagascar* he had recently been joined by the *Nemesis*, by the *Algerine* and *Starling* under Lieutenants Mason and Kellett, and by Commander Warren in the *Hyacinth*, which Commander Belcher piloted with exceeding skill to her required position. The *Blonde* of course could not float in such shallow waters, but Captain Bouchier had

placed himself under Captain Herbert's orders as a volunteer, and had the principal command of the boats, which were formed in four divisions. With this force, on the 18th of March, Captain Herbert made his way from the Macao Channel into the Chukiang. A fresh barrier of heavy rafts blocked up the entrance: a flotilla of war-junks lay behind it; and a succession of heavy batteries, armed with above a hundred and twenty guns, fringed the whole length of the banks down to Canton. But the *Algerine* and *Starlight* cut through the rafts and routed the junks; Captain Bouchier at the head of his boats' crews stormed the first range of batteries on shore; then, supported by the fire of the larger vessels as they advanced, carried all the others in succession: and in a few hours our squadron was moored under the walls of Canton, and the city itself was at our mercy. Having captured it, we saved it; for the junks, which we had set on fire, were drifting in flames down upon the suburbs, and would probably have involved them in their own destruction, had not Captain Bouchier at the most imminent personal risk towed them off to spots where they could do no harm. Though our loss did not exceed seven wounded men, that of the Chinese was very heavy: and for a moment it appeared that they really at last had received a lesson sufficiently severe to teach them the advantages of observing good faith for the future. Keshen had recently been superseded, and a new commissioner, Yang, had been sent from Peking, who entreated Captain Elliott to grant a suspension of hostilities till he could procure from the capital the Imperial sanction to a treaty which he promised to conclude: and as a proof of his sincerity he at once issued a proclamation, opening the trade, and promising safety and favour to all British and European merchants.

But China is so vast an empire that blows dealt in the distant provinces made but little impression on the Government at Peking. Our moderation in having abstained from



taking possession of Canton was looked upon as a proof of our inability to assault so extensive a city: and it was soon known that large reinforcements were being concentrated around it, and that fresh fortifications were being erected. It was evident that the Emperor intended to recall the concessions which his Minister had made, the moment that he felt himself sufficiently strong to defy us. Our commanders had been changed: it has been already mentioned that, just before the conclusion of the last-mentioned operations, Sir Hugh Gough had arrived to take command of the land-force; since the convention of the 20th of March, Sir Gordon Bremer having returned to Calcutta, Sir H. Senhouse of the *Blenheim* had succeeded him as Commodore of the fleet; and the new commanders had been preparing for a combined expedition to Amoy; when intelligence reached them in the middle of May which convinced them of the propriety of suspending that enterprise, and of resuming operations against Canton. Accordingly, on the 19th of May, the fleet weighed anchor, escorting a body of transports with about two thousand two hundred men, to whom, on their landing, a naval brigade of a thousand seamen and marines, under the command of Captain Bouchier, was added to co-operate with them on shore. The actual capture of the city was made by the army; but the preliminary advantages were chiefly gained by the sailors, whose energy had never been more conspicuous. No ship of the line had ever before passed beyond the Bogue Forts, but now the *Blenheim* not only proceeded many miles further up the main stream, but, when she reached the cluster of islands below Canton, Commander Belcher piloted her through the narrow channels which separate them from each other and from the mainland till he conducted her to a point within six miles of the city, which her unexpected appearance at so short a distance filled with an alarm that greatly conduced to its subsequent surrender. He himself went further, and

with a party of boats examined the whole river and adjacent country some miles above Canton; routing and burning a number of war-junks on his way, and destroying a battery of five guns; while Captain Herbert, to whom the chief management of the attack on the sea-face of the city had been entrusted, brought the *Modeste*, the *Algerine*, and three captured junks which he armed with shell-guns and placed under the command of Lieutenant Heskell of the *Cruiser*, and Lieutenant Hay of the *Pylades*, against the southernmost batteries, which mounted sixty-four guns, and assailed the squadron with a heavy fire as it approached. The garrison had expected our larger vessels to be stopped by a shoal or a bar, which, about a mile lower down, extends across the whole width of the river: but Commander Eyres by great exertion found a passage for the *Modeste*, and the cannonade which he and Lieutenant Mason in the *Algerine* presently opened upon the enemy was far beyond their power to resist. As soon as the fire of the batteries slackened, Captain Bethune landed at the head of the storming-party and carried them all.

The day before, Commander Warren, in the *Hyacinth*, the *Algerine* at that time being in his company, had a sterner conflict: he had been sent up to the further side of the city to cover the landing of a portion of the troops; and, while he was engaged in this service, some fire-ships came down upon him on one side, and a battery of eleven guns opened upon him from the other. Its fire was so heavy, and so well supported by a strong party of Tartar infantry with gingalls\* and muskets, that, besides replying to it with his cannon, he was forced to employ all the boats that he could muster; and while some of them towed off the fire-ships, the others landed their men to attack the Tartar troops. A fierce hand-to-hand fight ensued; the *Hyacinth's* First-lieutenant, Mr. W. Morshead, was wounded in a

\* A gingall is a gun carrying a ball of about a pound and a half.

single combat with a mandarin ; and many of our men had to cope with several antagonists at once : but gradually British discipline prevailed ; the Tartars were routed, the battery silenced, and the guns spiked. The resolution with which the Chinese fought throughout these operations is attested by the unusual loss which they inflicted on our men. Our fleet had nearly fifty men killed and wounded ; and that number was considerably exceeded by the casualties among the soldiers. The loss sustained in all our previous operations put together was inferior to that incurred on this single occasion.

In the mean time Sir Hugh Gough, though opposed with more vigour than the Chinese army had shown on any previous occasion, had forced his way up to the gates of Canton on the north-eastern side ; and was preparing to storm the city, when the Governor hoisted a flag of truce on the walls, and sued for peace. Sir Hugh consented to suspend his operations, but, even while negotiations were going on, there more than once seemed a chance that hostilities might be resumed ; some of the irregular troops assuming so menacing an attitude that he thought it prudent to bring up more guns and ammunition to prepare for a fresh outbreak : however on the 27th of May a treaty was signed, by which, as a ransom for the city, a sum of six million dollars were to be paid to the British Commissioner ; while we agreed to restore the fortified posts which we had captured and still held, and to withdraw our forces to the mouth of the river.

The agreement thus concluded, however, was only a capitulation for Canton by itself ; not a general peace between the two nations. But before negotiations of a more stable and trustworthy character could be entered upon, the negociator was changed, and the conduct of the fleet too passed into fresh hands. Our Government at home, dissatisfied with Captain Elliott, recalled

him, and sent out Sir Henry Pottinger as Minister Plenipotentiary to terminate all our disputes. And at the same time Rear-Admiral Sir William Parker, whose reputation in the service was second to that of no officer of an age suited to endure the fatigues of a campaign in such a climate, was appointed to the command of the fleet on the East Indian station, with the special object of terminating this tedious warfare. It was fortunate that he was sent out just at that time, for, soon after the capture of Canton, Sir H. Fleming died of a fever engendered by the greatness of his recent exertions ; and Sir Gordon Bremer had hardly returned to his command when he too was seized with illness, which incapacitated him from any continued discharge of his duty.

The new Admiral at once began to form his plans and carry them out with vigorous promptitude. On the 10th of August he reached Hong Kong ; and immediately concerted with Sir Hugh Gough a resumption of the design upon Amoy, which as has been already mentioned, had been laid aside three months before. Before the end of the month they had reached it, attacked it, and taken it. A few days were of necessity given to an examination of the condition of the fleet, and to the other various duties which devolve upon a new commander : but by the 21st every arrangement was completed, and, having hoisted his flag in the Wellesley (for he had travelled to India by the overland passage, and had come round from Bengal in the *Sesostriis* steamer), Sir William on that day weighed anchor and sailed northwards for Amoy.

Before the month had come to an end he was able to announce to his Government the triumph of the expedition in the capture of Amoy itself, and of the adjacent island of Kalongsew, which formed the western side of the harbour, and was the key to the whole. He had left a small squadron at Hong Kong, and the force which he had brought with him, besides 2000 soldiers under the General, consisted of two

sail of the line, two frigates, six smaller vessels,\* and four steamers. Captain Bouchier, as has been already mentioned, had been there before in the preceding year; and when, on the evening of the 25th, the Admiral reached Amoy, relying on that officer's proved skill, though the sun was already down, he pushed at once into the bay and anchored. Batteries at the entrance fired at him as he passed, but it was too dark for them to do him any harm, and the next morning at daybreak he moved into the Phlegethon steamer, piloted by Lieutenant Collinson, and, accompanied by the General and Sir Henry Pottinger, made a careful examination of the whole place. He found it greatly strengthened since Captain Bouchier's former visit. The city of Amoy lies at the bottom of the inner harbour, stretching towards but not quite reaching its eastern, and only available entrance; and from its eastern boundary the whole face of the bay for nearly two miles bristled with granite forts, earthworks, batteries masked with sandbags, ramparts and bastions, many so well placed to afford each other mutual support, that it seemed as if some skill greater than that usually possessed by the Chinese had been employed in their design and construction; a hundred and fifty-two guns were counted on the various defences, while from a steep and rocky mountain in the rear of the centre a solid

\* Namely:—

72	{ Wellesley . . . . .	{ Rear-Admiral Sir. W. Parker.
	{ Blenheim . . . . .	{ Captain T. Maitland.
44	{ Blonde . . . . .	{ Captain T. Herbert.
	{ Druid . . . . .	{ Captain J. Bouchier.
	{ Modeste . . . . .	{ Captain H. Smith.
18	{ Pylades . . . . .	{ Captain H. Eyres.
	{ Cruiser . . . . .	{ Commander J. Anson.
16	{ Columbine . . . . .	{ Commander H. Giffard.
	{ Bentina . . . . .	{ Commander J. Clarke.
10	{ Bentinck . . . . .	{ Lieutenant R. Collinson.
	{ Algerine . . . . .	{ Lieutenant T. Mason.

With the steamers, Queen, 6, Acting-Master W. Warden; Sesostriis, 4, Acting-Commander Ormsby; Phlegethon, 4, Lieutenant M'Cleverty; Nemesis, 2, Master W. H. Hall. A few other vessels such as the Hyacinth, Commander Goldsmith; the Starling, Commander Kellett; the Clio, Commander Trowbridge; the Pelican, Commander Napier, &c., joined afterwards,

and high wall ran down to the sea, dividing them so that the reduction of a part of the fortifications would not, it was supposed, necessarily involve the fall of the rest. On the opposite side of the harbour's mouth, which is not above half a mile in width, lies the island of Kalongsew, the key, in the Admiral's opinion, of the whole place. Its whole eastern end and north-eastern corner were protected by fortifications, which, in proportion to their more limited extent, were even stronger than those on Amoy; on every commanding position, and opposite to every possible landing-place, were erected strong batteries of stone or earth, and the united force of the whole amounted to not less than seventy-six guns.

Our commanders differed from the Chinese in their belief that one-half of the fortifications of Amoy would be able to hold out after the other half had been subdued, and directed the chief part of their combined strength against that portion of them that lay between the ships and the barrier-wall. The two line-of-battle ships were to attack the batteries at the entrance of the harbour, which, as was natural, were the strongest; the sloops were to assail those further on; while the troops were to land under cover of their fire and that of the steam-vessels, and take the batteries in the rear; and at the same time Captain Bouchier with the frigates, the *Modeste*, and a small body of marines and soldiers of the 26th Regiment, would, it was hoped, be able to subdue Kalongsew. The plan was hardly arranged before it was put in execution. The same day, as soon as the men had dined, the ships, guided by Lieutenant Collinson in the *Bentinck*, sounding ahead of the flagship as he went, weighed, and proceeded to their appointed stations. Of the steamers, the *Phlegethon* and *Nemesis* were selected to receive the troops, and to tow in the boats for landing them, while the *Queen* and *Sesostris* were to engage the farthest batteries, to clear a landing-place, and, when the time should come,

to cover the disembarkation. To them fell the honour of commencing the action. A little before two they opened on the works with their heavy guns, and shortly after that hour the Wellesley and Blenheim anchored by the stern within four hundred yards of the principal batteries; the sloops took their appointed positions beyond them, and the whole line began a tremendous cannonade, to which for some little time the Chinese replied with spirit, but at the end of an hour their fire began to slacken, and, Captain Giffard of the Cruiser conducting him in, Sir Hugh Gough landed at the head of his troops, and scaled and mastered the works nearest the barrier-wall. A boat's crew from the Phlegethon, under the command of Mr. Ryves, mate, went ashore at the same time, and, taking possession of an outwork which the sloops had silenced, was the first to hoist the British colours on the island; and presently the Admiral, seeing that the batteries which he himself had been attacking, were nearly destroyed, sent in Commander Fletcher of the Wellesley with a strong party of seamen and marines from both the line-of-battle ships, who drove the Chinese troops out of the batteries, and out of a row of houses behind, to which they had fled for shelter; and thus completed our possession of the whole line of seaward batteries, while the General made his way to the heights above the town, which cannonaded it from the rear; and Amoy was ours.

Meanwhile Captain Bouchier had been equally successful at Kalongsew. His task was in some respects more difficult, since the water was so shallow that, in order to place the frigates against the batteries in the positions which he desired, he was forced to leave scarcely an inch of water below their keels. Captain Eyres, in the *Modeste*, as the vessel of the smallest draught, led the squadron in, and their fire, which they poured in with great vigour and precision, was returned for some time by the Chinese with great courage. Indeed, the batteries here kept up a

longer resistance than those on Amoy; nearly an hour and a half having elapsed before their guns were silenced sufficiently to justify Captain Bouchier in ordering the troops to land. But by half-past three the enemy's fire being almost subdued, Captain Ellis of the Marines landed at the head of a hundred and fifty of his men, and was quickly followed by Major Johnston with his detachment of the 26th; and these two officers cleared the batteries, carried the heights beyond them, and, before five o'clock, made themselves masters of the whole island. No more was done on that day, but the works, which had not been attacked, in the course of the next two days submitted, without resistance, to Commander Fletcher, who with a party of seamen and marines was sent against them in the *Nemesis*. Of the Chinese garrison, which had consisted of at least eight thousand men, no prisoners were made, nor was it possible to ascertain the exact loss. Our own loss did not exceed one man killed and seven wounded. The guns and batteries in Amoy were destroyed; but the bay and inner harbour appeared so admirably adapted for a naval station, while the climate was understood to be particularly healthy for Europeans, that our commanders decided on retaining possession of Kalongsew; accordingly a garrison was placed in it, and the *Druid*, *Pylades*, and *Algerine*, under the command of Captain Smith, were left as a protecting squadron.

Correctly judging that the nearer they approached the seat of government the greater would be the effect of the blows which they should deal, the Admiral and General now resolved to reoccupy Chusan. They were delayed by foul winds, which at first prevented their sailing, and afterwards scattered the squadron so greatly that it was the 25th of September before it all reached the group of islands of which Chusan is the principal. Opposite to it on the mainland lie the important towns of Chinhae and Ningpo, and it had been intended to master them before



attacking the islands, but the weather proved so unfavorable for operations on that side of the channel that that plan was given up; and the next day the Admiral, again under the guidance of Lieutenant Collinson, stood in and reconnoitred Chusan harbour and the town of Chinhae. As at Amoy, he found the fortifications greatly increased and strengthened since we had left the island at the beginning of the year. The whole sea-face was covered with batteries, principally of earth, which were already mounted with ninety-five guns, and would soon have been infinitely stronger, as they had embrasures for above a hundred and seventy more; and on the ramparts of the city were forty-one other heavy guns, and a great number of gingalls. The two commanders, however, resolved on an instant attack; but unusual difficulties were in the way. The rapidity of the tides in the different channels which lead to Chusan harbour is so great as to render large vessels frequently almost unmanageable, even with the assistance of steamers; and it was consequently, after careful consideration, decided to entrust the attack on the side of the sea to the frigates and smaller vessels, and to borrow of the line-of-battle ships a naval brigade of seamen and marines to be landed with the troops at a point beyond the western extremity of the fortifications, in order thus to take them in reverse. The wind again became foul and stormy, so that September passed away before these plans could be carried into execution. But on the 1st of October the fleet stood in at daybreak, and ships and troops simultaneously began to play their appointed parts. The first blow was struck by the *Modeste* and *Nemesis*, beating down a stone battery, which indeed was not as yet furnished with guns, but behind which a large body of Chinese troops was seen, who might soon have occupied it and rendered it formidable; and then Captain Eyres joined Captain Bouchier, who, with the *Blonde* frigate, the *Modeste*, and the *Queen*, advanced first to cover a party

of artillerymen while erecting a three-gun battery to play upon a joss-house and some adjoining earthworks ; and, when the artillerymen no longer wanted his support, endeavoured to get into a position in which the frigate might attack the joss-house and its assistants. But now it was seen how impossible it would have been to have made use of the line-of-battle ships, for the *Blonde*, though taken in tow by the *Queen*, found herself wholly unable to reach the position she desired, and was forced to relinquish the task to the *Modeste* and *Queen*, who, being smaller and lighter, succeeded where she had failed, and by their steady fire soon silenced the guns, and routed the troops who were serving them.

While this was being done by sea, the troops, covered by a well-directed fire from the *Phlegethon*, *Nemesis*, and *Cruiser*, landed at their appointed places ; Captain Herbert, leaving the *Blenheim*, took the command of the naval brigade to co-operate with them ; and their attack, too, was successful at every point. Indeed, before the second column landed, the Chinese were already fleeing before the first, and before two o'clock the British flag was hoisted on all the batteries and on the town of Chinhaë. The army lost two men killed, and about twenty wounded, but the loss of the squadron did not exceed three men.

The moment that the wind permitted, the victorious commanders proceeded to the attack of the places on the mainland, which the weather had compelled them to postpone. On the 7th of October, the main body of the troops in Chusan were re-embarked in their transports ; and the two commanders, as usual, preceded them in the *Phlegethon* to make a personal reconnaissance of Chinhaë, which was their first object. They found the Chinese expecting an attack, and confident in the adequacy of the preparations which they had made to resist it : and the city was originally so strong, that even a Chinese garrison might well be considered formidable behind such fortifica-

tions. Situated at the mouth of the Takia River, on its northern bank, it was entirely surrounded by a wall, two miles in circumference, thirty-seven feet thick and twenty-two feet high, surmounted by an embrasured parapet, and mounted with sixty-nine heavy guns, besides an almost countless number of gingalls. The gates were iron. The garrison exceeded two thousand men. A hill, about two hundred and fifty feet high, and so precipitous that the summit is only accessible by a winding path leading up from the sea, and on the landward side by a steep causeway connecting it with the town, was surmounted by a citadel, garrisoned by seven hundred men and armed with three heavy batteries, which entirely commanded the town. Towards the bottom of the hill, the causeway was divided by a deep moat, traversed by a slight wooden bridge, below which was another battery. Similar care had been bestowed on the different landing-places. Stout sharp piles had been driven into the water in front of them, and batteries had been erected to command them; while, at a short distance from the bank of the river, lay the principal Chinese army of ten thousand men, with field-batteries of twenty-three guns.

On the night of the 9th our preparations were fully completed; the next morning the combined force attacked Chinhae, and, in spite of its strength, carried it with very trifling loss in little more than four hours. The place was so extensive, that it seemed possible to distract the Chinese by a variety of simultaneous attacks; with which view the troops were ordered to land in two bodies at two separate places, while the ships, in two divisions, should open their fire simultaneously on different points of both city and citadel. In one respect we were favoured by the weather, which was fine and unusually calm, permitting even the line-of-battle ships, which, under a fresh breeze must have remained in the offing, to be towed close in; and thus every part of the plan of attack was carried out

precisely as it had been arranged. The Phlegethon, Nemesis, and Queen, towed the transports and boats to their landing-places, while Commander Giffard, with the Cruiser, Columbine, and Bentinck, by a few well-directed shots, drove off some detachments of Chinese troops that were collected to oppose the landing; and, as soon as our soldiers were all safely landed on shore, those vessels, presently joined by Commander Ormsby in the Sesostriis, moved round to shell the citadel in flank; their guns also enfilading many of the city batteries.

Already the Wellesley, Blenheim, Blonde, and Modeste, had advanced in front of the citadel, and that portion of the city which was nearest to the sea, to cannonade it on that side. The Sesostriis had towed them all, one after another, to their appointed positions; placing even the line-of-battle ships within thirteen hundred yards of the enemy's walls. So accurately had Lieutenant Collinson marked the extreme point to which it was possible for them to advance, that, as the tide ebbed, the ships grounded in the mud; and this circumstance increased the precision of their fire, since the vessels were thus rendered as steady as so many land-batteries. The Chinese had prepared every conceivable expedient of defence, and sprang more than one mine, though their own troops were more dismayed than ours by the explosion. The advance of our men, indeed, nothing could arrest. In less than an hour and a half from the completion of the landing, the troops had planted their colours on one range of batteries; a few minutes later, the wall of the citadel was breached by the ships: the Chinese garrison began to retreat to join their comrades in the city; and Captain Herbert, with Captain Bouchier, Captain Maitland, Captain Eyres, and Major Ellis, R.M., landed at the head of a body of seamen and marines, ascended the hill, took possession of the fortress, and from it descended to attack batteries at the bottom of the causeway and the city itself.

With musketry they drove the gunners from the battery; and, proceeding at full speed, scaled the city wall in two places. The contest was at an end, and we were masters of Chinhae.

Ningpo lies fifteen miles higher up the river; and as the larger ships could not proceed further, Sir W. Parker devoted the next day to placing them in a safe anchorage off the mouth of the river; and, on the 12th, he went up in the *Nemesis* to reconnoitre that city. It was soon ascertained that no resistance whatever was to be expected; as the garrison, on hearing of the defeat of their comrades at Chinhae, had at once retired, and many even of the peaceful inhabitants were preparing to follow their example. On the 13th, therefore, Sir William took possession of that city also; and soon, as Sir Hugh Gough decided on establishing his head quarters there, he shifted his flag to the *Modeste*, and stationed her under the walls, in order to be able to keep a constant personal communication with the General.

Both fleet and army had now rest for above two months; but, in the last week of the year, the Commanders learnt that the Chinese were collecting bodies of troops at Yuyao and Tzekee, two cities some distance higher up the river; on which, with a detachment of troops, and the *Sesostris*, *Nemesis*, and *Phlegethon*, they took both the cities, almost without resistance, and destroyed all the works which had been prepared to render them defensible. The sole difficulties of the expedition had consisted in the navigation of the river, and these had been removed by the admirable skill with which it was surveyed by Commander Collinson, who had recently been promoted for his exertions at Canton and Amoy. After a time Sir Hugh returned to Ningpo, and consequently the Admiral also fell back, now hoisting his flag in the *Cornwallis*, 72, which had been sent out to replace the *Wellesley*; and emboldened by the retirement of the Commanders, which they apparently considered a retreat, the Chinese assumed the offensive, marching an army against our troops on the

land, and sending down a large flotilla of fire-rafts to destroy the ships. The 55th routed the army with great slaughter ; and the fire-rafts, which attacked the squadrons at Chinhae and Ningpo at the same time, were destroyed under circumstances which gave some of our officers opportunities for the display of great personal gallantry. The British ships at Chinhae were the *Blonde* and the *Hyacinth*, 18, Commander Goldsmith, and, as the fire-rafts came down, Goldsmith, with his own boats and those of the frigate seized them, and turned them to the opposite bank of the river, where they were allowed to burn themselves out, and exploded without doing the slightest injury. The Ningpo squadron consisted of the *Modeste*, *Columbine*, *Sesostris*, and *Queen* ; and the flotilla which was sent against them was supported by a numerous land-force, which also brought a battery of one gun to bear on the ships ; but Lieutenant Pearse, with the boats, grappled them under a heavy fire of musketry, and towed them clear of the shipping, while Commander Watson, with his broadsides, routed the infantry and disabled their gun ; and then sent his Lieutenant, Mr. Birch, with his boats, to co-operate with our troops in the repulse of the army. He also, as soon as it was ascertained that no further danger was to be apprehended to his squadron, resolved to prevent any similar attack for the future ; and having learnt that these fire-rafts were for the most part constructed at Tzekee, a town a few miles up a branch of the river bearing the same name, he sent Commander Morshead, who had recently succeeded Commander Clarke, in the *Columbine*, with his own boats and those of the *Queen* to search for and destroy them. He found them in great numbers ; and they were of a novel character, calculated to set ships on fire even at a distance, being filled not only with stores of powder and ordinary combustibles, but with fireballs, which, as they burnt, they shot out with great force to a considerable distance.

The Admiral deservedly bestowed high praise on his successful officers ; and Captain Morshead's expedition led to another on a larger scale ; for he had learnt that a large land-force was encamped at Tzekee, and his report determined the two commanders to attack it before it should be joined by a larger army, which was known to be concentrating further up the river. Accordingly, on the 15th, Sir Hugh marched against it with eight hundred and fifty men, and a naval brigade of four hundred more, under Captain Bouchier and Captain Peter Richards of the Cornwallis, supported by Lieutenant M'Cleverty with the Phlegethon, Nemesis, Queen, and the barges of the Cornwallis and Blonde. The steamers themselves met with some opposition, being vigorously attacked by a flotilla of five gun-boats ; which, after the Phlegethon had silenced them with her guns, were attacked by the steamer's boats under Lieutenant Ryves, and by those of the Cornwallis under Mr. N. Vansittart, who, being then only a mate, gave on this occasion the first proofs of that skill and enterprising valour which had already won him a high reputation among his brother officers, when a few years afterwards he fell universally honoured and regretted, in the fierce combat on the Peiho. The brigade on land had warmer work ; for there had as yet been no more hardly contested action in China than that which was fought under the walls of Tzekee ; the Chinese not retreating till they had lost above a thousand men. Large sums of Sycie silver were found on the slain ; which was understood to have been derived from a special gratuity, that had just been paid to them as an inducement to display extraordinary valour ; and the share which the brigade had had in the conflict may be estimated by the loss of eighteen men which they sustained, and which nearly equalled that of the army, though the military force employed more than doubled their numbers.

The defeats sustained in these enterprises did not wholly abate the zeal of the Chinese for similar attempts ; and, in the course of the following month, they endeavoured to

burn the main body of the fleet at Chusan; but the Admiral was forewarned and fully prepared. On the night of the 14th of April a whole flotilla of fire-rafts, already in flames, was seen drifting down with the tide towards the flagship; while others, apparently in tow of other boats, were making for the *Nemesis*, which was under repair in a narrow channel between two of the smaller islands; a third division was seen advancing towards the troopship *Jupiter*. Not fewer than fifty or sixty boats in small squadrons chained together, and all burning furiously, were thus coming down upon our fleet. But the boats of every ship were ready, and, as soon as they appeared, grappled them and towed them into positions where they could do no harm: and, not contented with thus destroying all that could be seen, Lieutenant C. Wise, first of the *Cornwallis*, with two or three boats, went in search of some others which, as the Admiral had been informed, were expected to come down from the westward, and discovered thirty, fully equipped, and only waiting for the turn of the tide. He destroyed them all; and the next morning, Lieutenant Hall, in the *Nemesis* (he, like Lieutenant Collinson, had been recently promoted for his indefatigable exertions) discovered thirteen more. At least a hundred fire-rafts were thus destroyed in a few hours; and the Chinese, baffled at every point, became disheartened, and from this time forth could hardly be brought to encounter an enemy whose vigilance they had thus, to their cost, proved to be equal to their courage.

The two commanders, acting in every instance in the most perfect harmony and unison of opinion, determined to avail themselves of the consternation of the Chinese troops, to push their advances still further north, as it was only by successes, which might seem to threaten the capital itself, that it seemed possible to make any real impression on the arrogance of the Imperial Government. At the beginning of May they therefore evacuated Ningpo and Chinhae, leaving only a small



garrison in the citadel of the latter town, with Captain Napier, in the *Pelican*, 16, to support it; and on the 12th the fleet weighed, and, accompanied as usual by the army, moved against Chapoo; a town which lies on the northern side of the same large bay, of which Chinhae commands the southern entrance; and which was of great commercial consequence as the principal mart of the trade with Japan. It had at this moment some military importance also, since a large Chinese force was understood to be there, with a great quantity of arms and provisions for the use of all the Chinese armies. At the upper or western end of the large bay, is the smaller bay of Hang-choo-foo, into which falls the river Tseentung, with the city of Chapoo close to its mouth. The fleet arrived off the entrance of Hang-choo-foo Bay on the 13th; but the exceeding velocity of the spring-tides, which were then prevailing, prevented any attempt to enter it till the 16th; when the Admiral, who, as we have already seen, always made his reconnaissances in person, stood in in the *Phlegethon*; and, after a careful examination of the whole bay, city, and defences, the next day brought in the squadron, and anchored the transports in such positions that the troops might disembark at daybreak on the 18th. The fleet had lately been joined by Captain Kellett in the *Starling*; and, on the night of the 17th, he and Captain Collinson, sounding close in shore, found a channel by which they could bring the largest ships in front of the sea batteries. The next morning the troops landed, and the fleet opened its fire; but the garrison of the batteries made scarcely any resistance. After firing a few guns, they kindled a train, intended to explode a mine beneath, and then fled with precipitation: but even the mine failed them, for Captain Bouchier, the moment that their flight was perceived, landed at the head of his men in time to cut off the train; and then pressing on, and cutting off several detachments of the enemy's troops, joined our General in his advance upon the city itself.

The work of the fleet was over when he landed; one division of Tartars made a momentary stand against the army, but they were soon overpowered, and by mid-day the whole city was in our possession.

The conquerors, with the usual discipline of British troops, abstained from plunder and outrage; but the miseries which so often accompany the capture of a town did not fall the less heavily, for their forbearance, on a portion of the citizens; for the city was inhabited by a population partly Chinese and partly Tartar, who at all times hated one another; and who usually dwelt in distinct quarters of the town, separated by a lofty wall. But, on this occasion, the moment that the Chinese garrison was put to flight, the Tartars broke into the Chinese quarter and committed every kind of violence, both on person and property, and it was some time before the exertions of our officers could preserve the city from its own citizens.

But the operation on which the Admiral had fixed his mind as best calculated to convince the Chinese of their utter inability to cope with us, was the capture of Nankin itself; the ancient capital of the Empire, and still a place of considerable importance. The space surrounded by its walls was still larger than that occupied by any other city in any country; its famous Porcelain Tower, nine stories high, was still one of the wonders of the world. The Yang-tse-kiang on which, at a distance of two hundred miles from its mouth, it stands, is the largest river in the ancient hemisphere, and had never yet been entered by an European vessel. To conduct a fleet of British men-of-war up a stream that had previously been kept so sacred from foreign enterprise, was an exploit which could hardly fail to strike the Emperor himself with dismay, or to crown its achievers with lasting honour; and, confiding in the skill of his surveying-officers, the Admiral undertook to accomplish it, and to convey the army also to the walls of Nankin.

On the 28th of May the fleet quitted its anchorage off

Chapoo ; but was so beset by calms and fogs that it was the 8th of June before it reached the entrance of the channel which leads into the Yang-tse-kiang. Almost at the point where that river falls into the sea it is joined by the Woosung, at the mouth of which is a village of the same name, and about three miles from it is a town of some magnitude called Paoushan. The Admiral at once sent forward Commander Watson, with the *Modeste*, and steamers *Nemesis*, *Lieutenant Hall*, and *Pluto*, *Lieutenant Todor*, to blockade *Woosung* ; while the *Starling* and *Ben-tinck* were charged with the arduous duty of exploring the channel itself, and placing buoys and beacons on the numerous rocks and shoals which studded it in every direction. A succession of thick weather detained the larger ships at their anchorage off the *Amherst* rocks till the 13th, and by that time *Kellett* and *Collinson* had so fully performed the task assigned to them, that they were able to conduct the whole squadron to the anchorage off *Woosung* without a single accident, by a passage which often left less than three inches of water under the flagship's keel.

Meanwhile Commander Watson had been busily and usefully employed in sounding the channel leading into the *Woosung* itself, and in reconnoitering the works on which the Chinese relied for preserving its inviolability ; and the report which he made of the latter to the Admiral showed them to be of a most formidable character, and such as it was impossible to leave unsubdued in his rear, while advancing on *Nankin*. An unbroken embankment of great height and thickness, and fortified with a hundred and thirty-four guns of large calibre, stretched along the whole distance from *Paoushan* to *Woosunk* : beyond the village, on the further shore of a small creek, a battery of ten 24-pounders flanked the entrance to the river on one side ; on the opposite bank of the river was another, with twenty-one guns of similar force ; and as the channel up which alone the ships could pass did not much exceed three hundred yards in width, it was obvious that they

would be exposed to the fire of the whole line at very close range. On the 14th the Admiral himself reconnoitred the shore, in the hope of finding some spot where the troops might be landed, but could find none where they could dispense with the support of the ships, which however he made no doubt of being able to afford them. On the 15th the weather was too rough for the fleet to move, but not unfavourable enough to prevent the surveying officers from proceeding with their work, and buoying the whole channel; after which the Medusa steamer, with some gunboats, was sent forward to prevent the Chinese from removing the buoys: and, as in the evening of the 15th the weather cleared, the next day was fixed for the attack.

At six in the morning of the 16th the fleet weighed anchor, each sailing-vessel in tow of a steamer, and Captains Kellett and Collinson acting as pilots to the leading ships. The Blonde led the way, followed by the Cornwallis, and they had not yet opened their fire when they received a welcome reinforcement in the arrival of Sir Everard Home, in the North Star, 26: she was immediately towed in and took her station ahead of the Blonde; and she had hardly done so when the whole squadron of sailing-vessels began to cannonade the batteries in their front, while the steamers having cast them off, were detached to enfilade the forts on the eastern side of Woosung. This was the only part of the arrangements which was not carried out as the Admiral had designed. The Sesostriis, Commander Ormsby, and the Tenasserim, Acting-Master Wall, both took the ground before reaching the positions allotted to them, but so unbroken was the line of the enemy's batteries that, even where they were, they found abundant employment, and were able to render service nearly as effectual as if they had been more fortunate. The Chinese maintained the combat with unusual resolution, but the terrible precision of our fire

gradually crumbled their batteries and dismounted their guns ; by eight o'clock they abandoned the contest ; and, though some regiments in the rear of the batteries still made a show of opposing the landing of our troops, a few shells and rockets from the Cornwallis and Blonde dispersed them ; and in that quarter the action terminated.

At the same time that the flagship and the frigate advanced against the batteries at the entrance of the river, Commander Watson, in the *Modeste*, had been sent with the *Columbine*, Commander Morshead, and the *Clio*, 16, Commander E. Troubridge, to enter the creek on the other side of Woosung, and to silence the battery which protected the village on that side. They performed their task in fine style, driving out the Chinese garrison by their heavy and rapid fire, and then landing and hoisting the British flag on the rampart. And just at the same moment Captain Bouchier, with Captain Peter Richards and Sir E. Home, also landed to take possession of the batteries which they had subdued ; the two parties formed a junction, and thus, within an hour and a half from the commencement of the action, the whole of the fortifications on the western side of the river were in our hands. Those on the eastern side were carried in a similar manner by Commander Ormsby, with a party of men from the *Sesostis* and *Tenasserim* ; and that the defeat of the Chinese might be complete in every quarter, the Commanders of the *Phlegethon* and *Nemesis*, Lieutenants M'Cleverty and Hall, having no antagonists on shore, pursued a flotilla of thirteen war-junks, each armed with three guns, and three others with paddles to be worked by hand, which they saw at a short distance up the stream, overtook, captured and destroyed them.

Hitherto the army had been able to take no share in the operations ; but now the way was cleared for their landing. They were at once disembarked in front of the Cornwallis and marched on Paoushan, which surrendered without making any resistance, though its walls were armed with

seventy-eight guns, and a numerous garrison had occupied it in the morning, till our destruction of the Woosung batteries warned them to retreat. The combined commanders now summoned Shanghai, announcing their intention to take possession of it unless a million of dollars were paid by the Governor; and as no answer was given to that demand, they, on the 18th, proceeded up the Woosung, and the next day reached Shanghai. It was heavily fortified and held by an adequate garrison; but a few shots from the North Star and Modeste sufficed to put the troops to flight, and a vast quantity of ammunition and provisions fell into our hands, without costing us a single life. To show the Chinese how little the intricacies of the navigation could embarrass our operations, the Admiral even proceeded nearly fifty miles further up the river; the enemy not venturing to offer the slightest opposition, but abandoning their batteries at his approach; and then, finding that the further progress of any but the smallest of his steamers was arrested by the shallowness of the stream, he returned to Woosung, and prepared for his advance up the Yang-tse-Kiang.

Leaving the North Star at Woosung, to intercept the trade of the district, on the 6th of July the Admiral proceeded to his crowning enterprise, and led his fleet into the great Yang-tse-kiang. Including transports, not fewer than seventy vessels followed his flag into those unknown waters: unseen by British eyes till within the few preceding days, during which Kellett and Collinson had been, with ceaseless activity, sounding every channel and buoying every shoal; though even their industry and skill could not remove all the dangers of the navigation, for the tides were strong, and the stream of unusual rapidity; often running down at a speed of above three miles an hour, and so often forcing the ships out of the channels which the surveying-officers had laid down for them, that in the course of the voyage every ship of the squadron, and many

of the transports got aground, though, as the bottom of the river was a bed of soft mud, none received any injury. But, in spite of all obstacles and dangers, the Admiral steadily held on his way; the Chinese generally deserting the batteries on the banks as he approached, and only in two instances staying to fire a single gun at him or his squadron. At Sheshan he was detained some days by the wind, but on the 17th he was able to send forward Captain Bouchier with the *Blonde* and some of the smaller vessels to blockade the entrance of the Grand Canal, which joins the river from its southern side a short distance from Chingkiangfoo. The position and wealth of this great city made it necessary for us to capture it, as the same considerations rendered the Chinese resolute to defend it. But, except in arranging and covering the disembarkation of the troops, the fleet was unable to take any share in the actual attack: nor, though several officers, and the Admiral himself among them, accompanied the General through the greater part of his operations, would any of the seamen have been engaged at all, had not some of the boats of the *Blonde*, while landing the guns of the artillery, exposed themselves to a heavy fire from a battery which they had not perceived, and which cost them two-thirds of their men; while the retreat, to which they were compelled, endangered their comrades, who, with the rest were of the boats, had landed in the suburbs of the city. Hearing of this disaster, Captain Peter Richards, in the absence of the Admiral, took it upon himself to land at the head of two hundred marines, and to send a party of seamen in the flagship's boats, up the canal, to distract the enemy by a fire which they did not expect; he soon relieved the men of the *Blonde*, and, resolved to make the most of the advantages which he had gained, was proceeding to scale the walls, when he was joined by another party from the *Modeste* under Captain Watson; and the two officers, pushing on, presently effected a junction with the second division of the army, which, after an unusually severe

conflict, had gradually overpowered all their antagonists, and were pushing their way into those quarters of the city, which, though helpless, had not yet formally surrendered.

Some days were now necessarily consumed in waiting for Captain Kellett and Captain Collinson to complete their survey of the river up to Nankin; but, by the end of July, they had sounded to within seven miles of the city, and were able to express a confident assurance that they could conduct the fleet up to the very walls of the suburbs. On receiving their report the Admiral decided on leaving the *Calliope* and *Proserpine* off the Grand Canal to continue the blockade, and with the rest of the fleet set sail on the 3rd of August, and the next day anchored within half a mile of the fortified lines of the city. While he remained at a distance, preparations had been energetically made for a sturdy defence, but the moment that he came in sight the courage of the Chinese failed them; flags of truce were displayed on all the military posts, and messages were sent to entreat him to forbear from any hostile movement, on the ground that Commissioners were on their way with full powers from the Emperor to conclude a peace.

These assurances proved more true than those of a similar tenor on former occasions. The Emperor was at last fully convinced of his inability to arrest our progress, and discontent at the distress inflicted on all the maritime provinces, and on the trade of the whole country by the events of the war, was spreading throughout his dominions. On the 29th of August peace was signed, the terms of which were as advantageous, in a commercial point of view, as they were honorable to the prowess of the fleet and army which had extorted them. Twenty-one million dollars were to be paid as an indemnity for the expenses of the war. Canton, Amoy, Ningpo, Shanghai, and Foochowfoo, were to be opened to our trade, with British resident Consuls to superintend our interests; and Hong Kong was granted to us as a perpetual possession.



## CHAPTER XLVI.

1856—1858.

Peace for some years—Seizure of the Arrow—Resolute policy of Sir M. Seymour—He seizes the Barrier Forts—Takes the Forts opposite Canton—Attacks Canton—Chinese fire-rafts—Commander Fortescue defeats a squadron of war-junks—The Admiral destroys the Bogue Forts—Destroys the French Folly at Canton—Defeats another squadron—Garrisons Macao Fort—Loss of the Raleigh—Destruction of junks in Escape Creek—Victory in Fatsan Creek—Gallantry of Captain Keppel—Mutiny in India—The Admiral sends troops and marines to Calcutta—Captain Peel organises a Naval Brigade in India—His success—His death—Lord Elgin arrives at Hong Kong—Capture of Canton—Expedition to Gulf of Pecheli—Capture of the Peiho forts—Treaty of Tientsim—Embassy to Japan—Troubles at Canton—Voyage to Hankow—Action with the rebels—Sir M. Seymour returns to England.

THERE could be no stronger proof of the severity of the blows which Sir William Parker and his military colleague had thus inflicted on the real power and prosperity of China, than is to be found in the fact that the Governors of all the northern seaports mentioned in the treaty carried out its provisions with entire good faith. They did so even at Canton, in a great degree for several years; but, as time wore on, the authorities of that city began gradually to show their discontent; to treat our merchants, and others whose business brought them thither, with their former arrogance; and, even if they did not prompt the citizens to offer them insult and outrage, at least to connive at acts of that character, and to secure impunity for the perpetrators. A supplementary treaty concluded in 1843, relating to the mutual surrender of criminals, and to the registering of merchant-vessels, afforded pretexts for frequent

quarrels: and, in October, 1856, affairs were brought to a climax by the act of some Chinese officers at Canton who seized a merchant-vessel called the *Arrow*, sailing under British colours, and provided with a British register in proper form on the plea that two of her crew (of whom it was not denied that the greater portion were Chinese) were accused of various acts of piracy. It was to no purpose that Mr. Parkes, our Consul at Canton, and Sir John Bowring, the British Plenipotentiary at Canton, addressed formal remonstrances against so violent an act to Yeh, the Imperial Commissioner residing in the city. They wholly failed to obtain satisfaction; so that at last, when all peaceful means had been exhausted, they were compelled to apply to the Admiral on the station to support the demands which they had thought it their duty to make.

It happened very fortunately that the naval Commander-in-chief, Sir Michael Seymour,\* whom we have seen in the

\* The squadron at this time in the China Seas consisted of:—

† indicates the screw-steamers, ‡ the paddle-steamers, the rest were sailing vessels.

84	Calcutta . . . . .	{ Rear-Admiral Sir M. Seymour, K.C.B. Captain W. K. Hall, C.B.
50	{ Winchester . . . . . Nankin . . . . .	Captain Wilson. Captain Hon. K. Stewart.
40	{ Sibylle . . . . . Pique . . . . .	Commodore Hon. C. Elliot. Captain Sir F. Nicolson, Bart.
17	† Hornet . . . . .	Commander Forsyth.
14	{ † Encounter . . . . . Comus . . . . . Racehorse . . . . .	Captain G. W. O'Callaghan. Commander Jenkins. Commander Barnard.
12	Bittern . . . . .	Commander W. Bate.
6	{ † Sampson . . . . . ‡ Barracouta . . . . .	Captain G. S. Hand. Commander Fortescue.
	‡ Coromandel (tender) . . . . .	Lieutenant Douglas.

While the Admiral was at Canton he was further reinforced by—

70	† Sans Pareil . . . . .	Captain A. C. Key, C.B.
26	Amethyst . . . . .	Captain S. Grenfell.
21	† Esk . . . . .	Captain Sir R. M'Clure.
17	Cruiser . . . . .	Commander Fellowes.
15	† Niger . . . . .	Captain Hon. A. Cochrane, C.B.
13	Elk . . . . .	Commander Hamilton.
12	Acorn . . . . .	Commander Hood.
6	† Inflexible . . . . .	Commander Corbett.

And many gunboats.

preceding year second in command of the Baltic fleet, was a man not only of great professional skill and resolution, but was also endowed in an eminent degree with political acuteness and decision of character. He at once perceived that the Arrow had been seized, not so much from any importance which the Chinese attached to herself or to her crew, as from a desire to see how far they might venture to carry their insolence: and, with this view of the case, he not only took upon himself to instruct Commodore Elliot of the Sibylle to back up the remonstrances of the Consul and Minister by a peremptory demand for redress from himself as Commander-in-chief; but, to give weight to the demand, he sent first the Barracouta and the Coromandel, the flagship's tender, and a few days afterwards the Encounter and Sampson likewise, to Canton, to be at the Commodore's disposal, in the hope that the sight of a British force so manifestly superior to anything that Yeh could bring to oppose it might incline him to concede all that was required of him. Yeh, however, was accounted by the Chinese themselves one of the most obstinate of their race; and only unsatisfactory answers (if it would not be more correct to say no answers at all) could be procured from him. Finding this to be the case, the Admiral resolved to proceed to action, and to take possession of all the defences of Canton: and with this view he proceeded thither himself, taking the Calcutta up to the channel above the Bogue Forts. From thence, as she drew too much water to proceed further, he went on in the Coromandel: and on the 23rd of October commenced his operations by seizing the Barrier Forts. They were armed with a hundred and fifty guns, many of

---

And at different subsequent periods by the—

31	Tribune . . . . .	Captain Edgell.
28	Retribution . . . . .	Captain Barber.
16	Furious . . . . .	Captain S. Osborn.
17	Cruiser . . . . .	Commander Bythesea.

them of 12-inch bore : but the Admiral, having passed above them, and summoned the Sampson to join him, turned back, and sent the boats of the two steamers against them, which, in spite of a hurried fire from the Chinese garrison, stormed them without loss, spiked the guns, destroyed the ammunition, and burnt the buildings. The Admiral proceeded the same afternoon to Canton up the main river, sending on the Sampson and Barracouta by another channel known as Blenheim Passage. They, as they advanced, mastered the Blenheim and Macao Forts ; the latter of which, as it was admirably posted on an island in the middle of the river, and was very strongly fortified with heavy batteries of eighty-six guns, the Admiral determined on retaining, and at once garrisoned with a sufficient force of Royal Marines.

Hoping that he had done enough to convince Yeh of his power to do more, Sir Michael now proceeded to address a formal notice to him, that all that had been done had been produced by his own obstinacy, and that he should continue his operations till the grounds of our complaints against the Chinese Government were removed by redress. And, as the haughty barbarian would not condescend to reply to this menace, he proceeded to execute his threats without delay. He first landed a detachment of marines, with a battery of field-pieces, to protect the British and Foreign Factories : and then, in the course of the next two days, made himself master successively of all the remaining forts immediately above and below the city, the Bird's-nest Fort, the Shameen Fort, and one or two others ; crowning these operations by the capture of the Dutch Folly, as a very strong fort of fifty guns was called, which was situated on an islet immediately opposite the very centre of the city. Having thus both city and commissioner manifestly in his power, he repeated his overtures for an amicable arrangement ; but Yeh was exasperated rather than intimidated, and the

only reply vouchsafed was a furious attack on the outposts of the force employed in the protection of the Factories. The assailants, however, were easily routed by Captain Penrose of the marines. And, to convince Yeh of the injury which he was doing his own countrymen by his intractability, Sir Michael now rose in his demands; and sent in a further claim, requiring, besides the settlement of the existing dispute on his own terms, that, "in order to prevent such disputes for the future, the representatives of all foreign nations should be allowed the same free access to the city and authorities of Canton, that they enjoyed at the other ports opened to European trade by the treaty of 1842." In fact a clause in that treaty had expressly provided that they should have that privilege, though its execution had hitherto been constantly evaded by the Chinese authorities.

The next day being Sunday, the Admiral allowed his men to rest; but on Monday the 27th, as Yeh was still obstinate, he prepared to deal his blows where Yeh himself should feel them: and accordingly began his operations of the day by opening a slow fire on the High Commissioner's palace; while Yeh retaliated, after his fashion, by offering a reward of thirty dollars for the head of every Englishman. The Admiral now proceeded to attack the city wall which surrounded the Palace. Anxious, as far as might be possible, to spare the peaceful inhabitants, he first gave them warning to retire from the line of fire, and remove their property: and then, to clear a way to the wall, he began to batter down a portion of the suburb, following up its destruction by breaching the wall itself; and, as soon as the breach was reported to be practicable, landing a body of seamen and marines under Commodore Elliot, Captain Keith Stewart, Commander Rolland, and Commander Bate, to force an entrance into the city. The assault was entirely successful: in a few minutes Commander Bate, at the head of one detachment,

was seen by the Admiral waving the British ensign on the top of the breach under a sharp fire, and instantly afterwards other parties scaled the walls on both sides of him. Captain Penrose of the marines hoisted a flag on one of the gates to point out its position; Captain Hall of the Calcutta, with Commander Fortescue of the Barracouta, presently blew the gate to pieces: and within an hour from the commencement of the operations the Admiral himself landed, and entered the city, to prove to Yeh beyond the power of dispute that it and himself were wholly at his mercy.

Before a boat had quitted any one of the ships, Sir Michael had enjoined, both by a general written order, and also by a personal address to the officers, the most rigorous abstinence from all acts of plunder and outrage: and his orders were as faithfully carried out in this as in every other respect. At sunset the men re-embarked in the same perfect order in which they had landed: nor had a single unarmed citizen cause to complain of any act of violence at the hands of those whom his rulers stigmatised as barbarians. Their good conduct was highly praised by Sir Michael: and it brought with it its own reward; since as long as the fleet lay in front of the city the inhabitants came fearlessly alongside to supply it with all kinds of fresh provisions. But Yeh and his colleagues, Pehkwei the Governor, and Tseankeung the Tartar General, were as unyielding as ever. As soon as our men had retired to their ships, the Chinese repaired the walls, and even ventured in their turn to become the assailants. One night they tried to set fire to a building called the Club-house, in which a party of our men whom the Admiral had left on shore for the protection of the Factory, were lodged. And they made repeated attempts to destroy our fleet with fire-rafts and explosive machines constructed on a scale of almost inconceivable magnitude. The infernal machine

to which the Admiral had so nearly fallen a victim in the Baltic, contained eight pounds of powder: some of those which were now employed in the Chukiang contained three thousand pounds, and few held less than one thousand. Fortunately of these tremendous engines not one ever took effect. Those that did explode failed to reach our ships, but more frequently our guard-boats seized them before they could be fired: and they served no other purpose but to impress our men with the necessity of ceaseless vigilance. The Chinese commanders had at the same time recourse to a more legitimate mode of warfare, and equipped a flotilla of twenty-three war-junks, carrying on an average twelve guns a-piece, to sail down by night, and surprise the fleet. On the 5th of November, however, the Admiral, by some means or other, received intelligence of their design; and, preferring to anticipate it, sent Commander Fortescue with the Barracouta, the Coromandel, and the boats of some of the other ships, piloted by Commander Bate, to attack them in their harbour. Though the French Folly (as the fort under which they lay was called) was armed with twenty-six heavy guns, at night Commander Bate surveyed the channel carefully, and in the morning of the 6th Commander Fortescue stood in, and anchored the Barracouta at a distance of not more than eight hundred yards from the fort, and within two hundred yards of the junks. They were drawn up in a regular line of battle, and so evidently prepared for our advance, that even before the ship had taken up her position, they were seen training their guns, and bringing them to bear upon her. To check them she opened upon them with the pivot-gun in her bows, and the smoke of her first shot had hardly cleared away when it was replied to by the whole of their collected broadsides, and by every gun from the fort. After a few minutes, however, she too brought her broad-

side to bear, and using chiefly grape and canister, and being admirably supported by the boats under Captain Wilson of the Winchester, and by two guns from the Dutch Folly, where the Admiral himself conducted the operations, in little more than half an hour compelled the crews to desert the junks, and to take refuge on shore. And then she turned her fire on the fort, and silenced that also. The victory was now complete : Captain Hall landed, and destroyed all the guns and ammunition in the Folly ; and all the junks which had not been sunk in the action were also set on fire, with the exception of the Admiral's, a fine vessel of sixteen guns, which was brought off as a trophy.

Though the Barracouta was much cut up by the fire of the enemy, our loss in men had not exceeded one killed and four wounded : that sustained by the Chinese had been very great. But the destruction of his force, and the slaughter of his men, made no impression on Yeh ; and, as there was nothing more to be done at Canton at present, the Admiral now resolved, in pursuance of a suggestion made by Sir John Bowring, to capture and hold possession of the Bogue Forts, in order to secure the entire command of the river at all times. He first once more summoned Yeh to yield to his demands within twenty-four hours ; and at the expiration of that time, as he had received no answer, he left Commodore Elliot with the Sampson and Niger to protect the Factory, and with the Encounter and Barracouta sailed down himself to a point below the forts, where he found the Calcutta and Nankin : and, having rehoisted his flag in the line-of-battle ship, he summoned the Governor to surrender, offering, if he submitted peaceably, to hold the forts as a deposit till our differences were terminated, and, on the conclusion of peace, to restore them uninjured. He expected a refusal, and, on receiving it, at once attacked them. He directed his efforts first against those on the islands,



sending in his boats to storm them; and, though they had been greatly strengthened since 1841, and now mounted upwards of 200 guns, they made but a feeble resistance. Indeed, the Mandarins had already prepared their boats for flight, and the moment that our men landed and approached their walls, they pulled off; and their troops, abandoned by their leaders, began to throw themselves into the sea, till they were reassured by Captain Hall, and by the efforts which they perceived our sailors making to save them. The Anunghoy Forts were equally strong, and were reduced the next day with equal ease: our entire loss again only amounting to one man killed and four wounded.

Even this blow, which made us masters of the entire river, did not in the least abate Yeh's obstinacy. The Admiral returned to Canton, and found that the Chinese had not only repaired the Barrier Forts, but that the new garrison had proceeded to fresh hostilities, firing on one of the steamers belonging to the Peninsular and Oriental Company, and also at a boat of the Portsmouth, a corvette belonging to the United States. The Americans, little disposed to submit to such an insult, attacked and destroyed the offending forts; while we retook possession of and blew up several more, which the Chinese were proceeding to repair and re-arm; and, as the French Folly, which had been again re-armed by sand-bag batteries, was in a position to threaten our free movements up and down the river, the Admiral resolved to destroy that also. Mounting some heavy guns on the Dutch Folly, he first threw a few shells into it, and then, on the 3rd of December, attacked it with the broadsides of the Encounter and Barracouta, while Captain Wilson and Captain A. Cochrane landed at the head of eight hundred and fifty sailors and marines, and stormed it on the side of the land. Its thirty guns, some of them 68-pounders, were destroyed, the fort itself was blown up: and though

it was garrisoned by a body of picked soldiers, many of whom had served in European ships, and had there learnt the art of mounting and directing their guns, they inflicted no greater loss on us than that of one man killed and one wounded.

The dominion over the whole of the river, with all its side-channels, which we had thus obtained, of course annihilated the Canton trade. And the Admiral, thinking that a continuance of pressure of that kind might have a greater effect than the defeat of any single force, resolved on maintaining it by keeping possession of one or two strongholds. With this view he garrisoned the Dutch Folly in the middle of the river with a hundred and forty seamen, which he placed under the command of Commodore Elliot. And, as a position within the city itself, he also intrenched a portion of the Factory gardens, fortifying it with a ditch and breastworks, and entrusting it to a mixed force of seamen, marines, and soldiers of the 59th Regiment. At the same time he threw two booms of spars, strengthened with chains, across the river, one above, and one below his squadron, to protect it from any renewed attempts of the Chinese to reach it with fire-rafts. This was his last operation in 1856; and in the position which he had thus secured, he designed to rest quietly, and await instructions from the Government at home, since hitherto he had been acting wholly on his own responsibility; and, although those on the spot were convinced of the necessity of every step which he had taken, it was impossible that he could feel sure what judgment of them would be formed by those at a distance. The Chinese, however, were not inclined to leave him in the quiet which he desired; but in the first week of the new year they collected a flotilla sufficiently large to make simultaneous attempts on our squadron at the barrier of the Macao Channel, and on the garrison in Macao Fort. So confident were they of success that numbers came

out from the city and lined the banks of the river as spectators, to see the issue of the conflict; and, indeed, the attack on our squadron was planned with great sagacity as well as boldness, and was made with a truly formidable force. Ninety junks of the largest size, and thirty row-boats, with from forty to sixty oars, advanced against our squadron from three different quarters, having selected the moment of the lowest tide for their advance, knowing that at such a moment our largest ships would be incapable of moving. One division attacked the *Hornet* and *Comus*; another opened fire on the *Coromandel*, bearing the flag of the Admiral, who had hastened to the assistance of the *Macao Fort*: a third came down *Starling Creek* against the *Encounter* and *Niger*. Commander Forsyth soon disposed of his antagonists; but the *Coromandel* had no armament more powerful than that of a few boats'-guns, and appeared wholly inadequate to such a contest, being in fact greatly inferior in weight of metal to the very smallest of the enemy's junks. She therefore at first waited for the assistance of the *Encounter*; but the moment that Captain O'Callaghan began to move to his Admiral's support, he grounded; and was compelled to content himself with scattering the third division, which was advancing to the conflict from the upper part of the river. Sir Michael, however, though thus left to himself, for he had despatched most of the boats to reinforce the garrison in *Macao Fort*, preserved a bold countenance; replying to his assailants with what guns he had, and with the musketry of his marines, and thus keeping them at bay till the tide began to rise, when they retreated, into a large side-channel on the right of the river called *Fatshan Creek*. On *Macao Fort* the enemy failed in making the slightest impression. To provide against any similar attack in future, Sir Michael strengthened it further with some heavy guns, which should enable it to command the

entrance to Fatshan Creek, which was less than a mile to the southward; and in the middle of January he decided on evacuating the Dutch Folly and the position which he had taken up in Canton, and made Macao Fort his principal station, since such an arrangement, while equally answering the purpose of preserving the command of the river left a large proportion of his small force disposable for operations in other quarters. As a matter of precaution in another direction, he sent the Calcutta down, under Captain Hall, to protect Hong Kong, which was in a very agitated and insecure state. And seeing now that peace could only be attained by dealing heavier blows on the Chinese than he had as yet been able to deliver, he applied to the Governor-General of India for a body of five thousand troops, and to the authorities at home for a division of gunboats with a light draught of water. The latter indeed, was the more indispensable reinforcement of the two; for in such a river as the Chukiang sailing-vessels were wholly useless, and few of his steamers were available for rapid movement except at high water; while it was of the highest importance to keep alive, by repeated blows, the impression which the victories that we had already gained could not fail to have produced, since every moment of inaction the Chinese attributed to our weakness: and, whatever their deficiency in other warlike qualities may have been, few people have ever shown a more stubborn resolution, or have been more easily and more quickly reassured after the most disastrous overthrows.

Nor were they very scrupulous in the means which they employed. Once they bribed the bakers to introduce poison into the bread which was made for the garrison at Hong Kong, who were only saved from its effects by the dose having been made too strong. And, comprehending all Europeans in one general hatred, they, on two occasions, seized inoffensive passenger-boats that were in the habit of

plying on the river ; and though few, if any, of the passengers were English, one boat indeed bearing the colours of Portugal, a nation with which they did not allege the slightest cause of quarrel, they murdered every man on board, and carried their heads to Canton, to pass them off as English, and so to obtain the reward which Yeh had offered for such trophies.

For the next three months the weather was unfavorable for active operations. Indeed the only occurrence that took place during that period of any importance to the fleet, was a disaster which, however, the Chinese had no share in inflicting. In March, Commodore the Honorable H. Keppel, on his way to join the Admiral in the *Raleigh*, 50, reached Singapore, intending, as the north-eastern monsoon was blowing with great violence, to wait there for a change of weather. He had hardly cast anchor when he learnt that Sir Michael was in urgent need of reinforcements, since the ships which he had with him were wholly inadequate to the variety of the duties imposed on him, and the extent of coast and river for the safety of which he had to provide. Disregarding, therefore, every consideration but that of his Commander's necessities, Keppel pushed on ; and, after a most difficult voyage, in the teeth of constant heavy gales from the north-east, at the end of the month he had got within sight of Hong Kong, when the *Raleigh* struck on an unknown rock, where, in spite of all the efforts of her captain and crew, she became a complete wreck. Sir Michael, who was no stranger to Keppel's daring courage, to avoid losing his services, attached the *Bittern* sloop and the hired steamers *Hong Kong* and *Sir Charles Forbes*, to the *Raleigh* as tenders ; and with them the Commodore, still keeping his broad pendant, proceeded up the river, where, as will be seen hereafter, he was of the greatest use in the subsequent operations. After he had been honorably acquitted of all blame for the loss of his ship, the Admiral placed him in

command of the Alligator, in which he remained till he received his flag, when he returned to England.

For the next three months, then, the war languished : an occasional skirmish took place ; and one action on a larger scale, in which Commodore Elliot, with the Sampson and one or two smaller vessels, destroyed a flotilla of thirteen large junks. But nothing of importance was attempted till the middle of May, when the gunboats that the Admiral had desired began to arrive. And then he at once prepared to employ them. There were on the right bank of the river several large creeks, up one or all of which it was known that numerous flotillas of war-junks were lying, and all of which the Chinese had been wisely engaged in fortifying during these past months of inactivity. The largest was one in the Macao passage, known as Fatshan Creek, from the populous city of Fatshan, which lies about twelve miles from the entrance. Here was the principal arsenal and dockyard at which all the war-fleets of the province were built and fitted out. Here the principal fleet of the enemy was understood to be stationed ; and here, therefore, the Admiral designed to strike a blow with the whole power of his augmented force. It was heralded by one which would of itself have been accounted a very splendid triumph, had it not been thrown into the shade by the lustre of that which succeeded it. Falling into the main river, a few miles lower down, is another inlet of similar character, but of smaller extent, marked on our charts as Escape Creek, where a large force was generally visible : and to destroy this Sir Michael, on the 25th of May, sent Commodore Elliot in the steam gunboat Hong Kong, with the Bustard, Lieutenant T. Collinson ; the Staunch, Lieutenant Wildman ; the Starling, Lieutenant Villiers, and the Sir Charles Forbes, Lieutenant Lord Gilford under his orders. In the wake and in tow of them followed the boats belonging to the Sibylle, Raleigh, Tribune, Hornet, Inflexible, and Fury, twenty in num-

ber, of which thirteen were armed with one heavy gun each. And with this force the Commodore, at daylight on the morning of the 25th of May, made his way up the Creek. He had marshalled his squadron in two divisions, under Commander Forsyth of the *Hornet*, and Commander Corbett of the *Inflexible*; the second in command of the whole being Captain Edgell of the *Tribune*; and, after proceeding five or six miles, he came in sight of a flotilla of forty-one junks, mounting on an average six guns apiece, moored head-and-stern across the stream, so as to command it with their broadsides. As he advanced they opened upon him, even before he got within their range: but as soon as the *Hong Kong*, which, with the *Bustard* and *Starling*, formed the first division, began to reply, they sought refuge in flight; the crews of many of the junks deserting their vessels, and escaping on shore, while others made off with sails and oars, and ran into other creeks which branched off on both sides the river. The Commodore pursued; but the smallest of the gunboats drew four feet more water than the largest junk, and presently they all, with the exception of the *Bustard*, grounded, and the chase was left to the ship's boats, in which the officers who had the good fortune to be employed found opportunities for the display of the most brilliant personal gallantry. With four of the pinnaces, Commander Forsyth captured and brought off a division of ten junks that had fled up a narrow channel on the right bank. Mr. R. A. Brown, a mate of the *Hornet*, dashed on unsupported in her pinnace, and attacked and carried three of the largest junks with his single crew: other officers emulated their gallant example; and at the close of the day the Commodore found that he had captured ten and destroyed seventeen of the enemy's vessels, with no greater loss than that of two men wounded.

With the rise of the tide the stranded gunboats floated; and Elliot's next care was to prevent those who had

hitherto eluded him from completing their escape. He returned into the main stream to blockade the various outlets; entrusting the blockade of one to Commander Forsyth, of another to Commander Corbett; and having thus hemmed them all in, on the 27th he again advanced up another creek called the Sawshee Channel; the steamers towing the boats for several miles, but profiting by the experience of the preceding day to halt in time. The boats then pushed on by themselves; having still a heavy pull before they came in sight of a foe: but at last, when they had left the steamers ten miles astern, they reached the city of T'oung-könan, and found another flotilla lying under the guns of a battery on shore. The Chinese were taken wholly by surprise, and at once abandoned their vessels: but their flight increased the difficulty of our victory, as they took refuge in the houses of the city, and from them poured a heavy fire of matchlocks and gingalls on our men. Nor was it till the Tribune's boats assailed them with some well-aimed rockets, while Commander Turnour, of the Raleigh, and Lieutenant Blake, of the marines, landed at the head of two hundred men, and attacked them with a vigorous charge, that they gave way. Their resistance on this day cost us two men killed and twenty-seven wounded, but it did not save one of their junks, which were all destroyed; and the Admiral could now direct the whole of his attention to the main fleet in Fatshan Creek.

The attack upon this force he resolved to lead himself; and, having spent a couple of days in completing all his arrangements, and having, according to his invariable practice whenever it was possible to maintain it, given his followers rest and peace on Sunday, on Monday, the 1st of June, he, with his flag still flying in the little Coromandel, led the way in search of the enemy. No force so large or so well appointed had ever gone to battle in Chinese waters: nor indeed do the annals of the British navy afford record of any boat expedition on a similar



scale: eleven gun-boats, and between fifty and sixty boats belonging to the different ships of the fleet, were manned by nearly two thousand men. All the Captains and Commanders were with their men; and yet, large as the force was, to any one who did not know what English seamen could do, it might well have seemed too small for the work before it; for the enemy against whom it was advancing far exceeded it in numbers, and far more in apparent power and all the appliances of war. Above six thousand carefully picked sailors and warriors manned eighty junks, the smallest of which was above double the size of those that had been destroyed in the preceding week; and their armament amounted of above eight hundred guns, many of them being 42-pounders of European manufacture.

Their position, too, had been chosen with considerable skill. Two miles from the entrance of the creek is Hyacinth Island, long and low, lying lengthwise in the channel: and opposite to it, on the right bank is a steep hill, on which the Chinese had constructed a battery of nineteen heavy guns. On the left bank, facing the end of the island, was a second and smaller battery; and beyond that, where two other creeks, one on each side, join the main channel almost at right angles, a fleet of upwards of fifty junks were moored side by side, their heavy bow-guns commanding the whole stream; the paddy-field in front of the side-creeks being so low that the vessels on the two flanks were as effective as those in the centre. The Chinese believed their position to be absolutely impregnable; but their confidence did not render them careless. On the contrary, the Coromandel had hardly entered the creek, when signal rockets were seen to rise from both the batteries and the junks, and the former opened a heavy fire, banishing every hope that the Admiral might have entertained of taking them in any degree by surprise. It was half-past three o'clock in the morning, and dead low water,

Sir Michael conceiving that that condition of the stream would be favourable to the enterprise in two ways : since, if any of his own vessels should get aground, the rising tide would soon float them, while the shallowness of the water above would, at first, prevent the junks from retreating before he approached them. The first point of attack was the battery on the hill ; and this the Admiral assigned to his own little vessel, the Haughty gun-boat, Lieutenant Hamilton, a division of boats which the two steamers took in tow, and a body of seamen and marines, which, under Commodore Elliot, were to lend and storm the battery, while the two ships covered them and assailed it with their guns. But the Chinese had, in more places than one, tried to block up the channel by sinking junks laden with stone, and at the distance of three-quarters of a mile from the hill the Coromandel grounded on such a barrier, and the Admiral immediately went on board his galley, with Flag-lieutenant Fowler, pushing on with the Haughty and the rest of the force to attack the battery on the hill. He at once landed and carried it at a run almost without loss, forcing his own way over the parapet, while Elliot effected an entrance through the main gate. Taken by surprise, the Chinese were unable to depress their guns sufficiently to bear upon them as they mounted the hill ; and, as soon as we had made our ground good, Lieutenant Fowler quickly turned one of the guns round to bear on the garrison as it retreated towards the junks, and the marine light infantry pursuing them, completed their confusion.

Meanwhile, the other gunboats, with the exception of the Plover, Captain K. Stewart, grounded in succession ; but, according to the orders which the Admiral had given in anticipation of such an emergency, the ships' boats which they had in tow proceeded by themselves, and pushed on with great speed, led by the division under Commodore Keppel, who had been ordered not to enter

the creek till the Hill Fort had been captured. The whole force now rapidly advanced towards the junk fleet. That enemy, from the first moment that the boats had come into range, had assailed them with a rapid and unusually steady cannonade. But the speed with which our men pulled evidently disconcerted their aim, which was generally too high, and therefore harmless. The moment that our boats reached the enemy, the battle was over. The Haughty, still the leading gunboat, bore down upon one of the largest of the junks, and, as Lieutenant Hamilton boarded her at the head of his men, the crew jumped overboard on the other side: the panic was contagious, and in a few minutes the whole flotilla was in our possession, and was at once set on fire.

Meanwhile Keppel in the Hong Kong, supported by the Plover and a division of boats, had pushed on against the battery on the other bank of the river. The garrison, supported by all the junks that could command that side of the channel, opened on him, and the Hong Kong took the ground, while the Plover, to avoid a similar misfortune, was obliged to lie to. He quitted the Hong Kong, and in his galley led the boats to the attack; boarded the largest himself: her crew and that of the rest of the division followed the example of their comrades on the other side, and escaped to land, while he captured their vessels. He left some of his sternmost boats to burn them, and with the rest still pressed on, seeing at a distance the masts of another squadron, and eager to reach them before the rising tide should enable them to retreat further. A pull of three miles brought him in front of their advanced squadron of nine vessels, most of which were aground; and at a short distance behind them the main body of twenty junks of the largest size were moored in so compact a line that to his eye their heavy bow-guns resembled the broadside of one long frigate. He at once advanced against them, but they received him with a fire whose rapidity

and precision exceeded anything that our men had yet encountered in China: almost every boat was hit, some of them by repeated shots; the launch of the Calcutta was sunk. Two gallant officers, Major Kearney, Deputy Quarter-master-general, who had accompanied the boats as volunteer, and Mr. Barker, of the Nankin, a midshipman of great promise, were killed on the spot; Captain A. Cochrane, who was leading his boats, had his gig disabled, and his sleeve torn from his arm by a grape-shot. And our loss became so heavy, and the confusion so great, that Keppel drew his boats back for a moment to re-form. He hoped too, since the tide was now flowing rapidly, to be able to bring up the Hong Kong to join in the struggle; but, after steaming a short distance, she again took the ground, and the Chinamen began to beat their gongs and to utter loud screams of triumph. Their exultation was premature. The Admiral had by this time sent up a reinforcement; and, thus strengthened, Keppel returned to the attack, and renewed the action with such vigour that in a quarter of an hour the junks slipped from their anchors, and with oars and sails fled up the river. We pursued, Captain Cochrane leading the chase; and, keeping up a steady fire as we went, gradually disabled the greater part of them; eight alone reached Fatshan, where five were taken, and the remaining three owed their escape to the humanity of the Admiral, who, as the city was neither fortified nor garrisoned, had strictly enjoined Keppel to avoid injuring it; and he could not fire upon the junks without risking the destruction of a part of the city. These three, however, were all that were now left to the Chinese of their splendid fleet; and, though the victory had not been attained without some sacrifice, for we had lost thirteen men killed, forty wounded, and had many of our boats disabled, yet its importance, as being the destruction of the whole naval force in the Chukiang was such that even at that cost it was not too dearly purchased; while the skill with which all the arrangements were made

by the Admiral, and the gallantry with which they were carried out by the subordinate officers, place it at the head of all exploits of the kind.

As such it contributed greatly to dishearten the Chinese, and when, a fortnight afterwards, the Admiral sent Keppel down the river to attack Chuenpee, which, as we have seen, had in a former war made a stout resistance, and which had been considerably strengthened since that time, it surrendered without a struggle. For a moment it seemed that the war, in the Chukiang at least, would soon be terminated ; when, in the first days of July, Lord Elgin, who had been sent out as Minister Plenipotentiary, arrived at Hong Kong in the Shannon, 51, Captain W. Peel ; and several gunboats, and one strong detachment of the troops which the Admiral had applied for had already arrived ; while others were known to be on their way, and at no great distance. But Lord Elgin did not come to remain. On his arrival at Singapore, he had received from Lord Canning, the Governor-General of India, intelligence of the fearful revolt which was threatening our supremacy over that country, and of his distrust even of those native regiments which had not yet violated their duty ; with an earnest entreaty for the immediate aid of the British troops which had been intended for service in China. With this request he not only resolved instantly to comply, but, after a brief conference with the Admiral, he himself returned in the Shannon to Calcutta, to give the further support of his personal assistance to his old friend and schoolfellow.\* Sir Michael so fully coincided in the wisdom of such a step that with the Shannon he also sent Captain Sotheby in the Pearl, 21, with an additional reinforcement of marines, and the Sans Pareil with a force of Royal Artillery. And during the next few weeks, as the separate divisions of troops that he had applied for arrived from England, he despatched them with all speed to the Indian capital. Having thus disarmed himself of the

\* Lord Elgin and Lord Canning had been contemporaries at Eton.

force which was indispensable for the prosecution of his former designs, he was forced to content himself with establishing a strict blockade of the river till he should be in a position to resume active operations ; and for four months nothing of any importance was done or attempted. And we may turn aside from Chinese affairs to contemplate for a moment the contest in India, where, far removed from the sea as the scene of action was, our gallant sailors nevertheless found themselves a sphere of work, and proved of no small service in the relief of Lucknow, and the subsequent operations in that district.

The first week in August the squadron arrived in Bengal, and, as soon as they had landed the troops which they had brought, Captain Key, feeling the necessity of making a great impression, carried the *Sans Pareil* up the Hooghley to Calcutta. In those shallow and intricate waters no ship of the line had been seen since the days of Clive and Watson ; and the *Kent* and *Tiger* were far inferior in size to this magnificent vessel. So greatly did her unexpected arrival encourage the loyal, and awe the disaffected and the waverers, that Lord Canning ventured to entrust her with the protection of the city. Key landed his marines at Fort William, anchored the *Sans Pareil* under the walls of Calcutta ; and the regular garrison was despatched to reinforce the army in the interior. But, as the aid thus afforded was scanty, while it was plain that Havelock, on whose efforts for the deliverance of his heroic brother in arms, General Inglis, the whole attention of India and of England was at this moment concentrated, had need of every man that could be procured, Captain Peel proposed to leave the *Shannon* at Calcutta, and to form her men into a naval brigade on the plan of that in which he, among others, had recently gained no small honour at Sebastopol. His offer was cordially accepted, and, on the 13th of August, leaving the ship in charge of Lieutenant Vaughan and a small party, he started up the

Ganges in one of the river-steamers, at the head of four hundred and eight blue-jackets and marines, with a sufficient number of guns of various calibre to form an efficient siege and field battery. A month later Lieutenant Vaughan followed him with a hundred and twenty more, whom he had raised from among the merchant-vessels in the river ; and Captain Sotheby formed a similar force on a smaller scale of the crew of the Pearl. At first the Shannon's men were placed in Allahabad, as the chief part of the garrison of that important city, Peel himself being appointed to the chief command ; and before the end of October they bore a full share in a victory gained over four thousand mutineers at Kudjiva. Colonel Powell of the 53rd had received intelligence of the position of the mutineers, and resolved to attack them. He collected from different regiments a body of four hundred and thirty men, and Peel willingly engaged to join him with a hundred of his sailors. Among the sepoys was the 50th, at one time accounted the finest regiment in the Company's service ; and now they were not ashamed to fight against us in their old uniforms, with medals on their breasts which they had earned under British command in the fierce conflicts against the Sikhs and Affghans. They expected to have outnumbered us even more than they did ; but fortunately a body of Mussulman cavalry which had promised to join them quarrelled with the Hindoo infantry, and refused to advance, so that we had only the foot regiments to cope with. These, however, fought resolutely, and Colonel Powell was killed at the outset of the engagement. The command then devolved upon Peel, and, after a long conflict of pure hard fighting, the mutineers were routed, with a loss which he estimated at three hundred killed, besides all their guns and ammunition. Our casualties had been trifling, and those of the brigade did not exceed two officers wounded. A few days afterwards, with the men who had won this battle, and another party of equal strength, Peel joined Sir

Colin Campbell before Lucknow; and here the sailors acted chiefly as artillerymen, erecting their batteries and working them with admirable energy and skill; on one occasion, to quote the words of the General's despatch, "bringing up their heavy guns with extraordinary gallantry within a few yards of the Shah Nujjeeff, to batter the massive stone walls: it was an action almost unexampled in war, and Captain Peel behaved very much as if he had been laying the Shannon alongside an enemy's frigate."\*

Equally conspicuous with his gallantry was the care which he took of the health of his men; being as watchful never to distress them with unnecessary duty, as he was resolute to face every labour and every danger; and the consequence was that, at the end of above six months of ceaseless toil, he was able to report the brigade as being in a state of "higher efficiency than ever." It was well that it was so, for in the capture of the Dilkoosha at the beginning of March, no small share of the success was due to the precision of the seamen's heavy fire; and still more severely was it tried, when a week afterwards it lost the energetic and skilful guidance of its chivalrous commander. On the 9th of March, while engaged in posting some guns, he received a musket-ball in the thigh. Though the wound was painful and dangerous, he at first seemed to be doing well; but before he recovered he caught the small-pox, and on the 27th of April he died, sincerely regretted not only by his comrades in both services who had been eye-witnesses of his exploits, but by his countrymen at home who had formed high anticipations of his future career, from his dauntless courage, his unwonted and ready skill, and that force of character which gave him an influence over all

\* In the Appendix will be found three very interesting letters from this splendid officer to his Commander-in-chief, Sir Michael Seymour, to whose kindness the author is indebted for the perusal of them and many others. Among them is one of the last he ever wrote; it was written April 11, above a fortnight after he received his wound, and only a few days before he sickened of the small-pox.



who were brought in contact with him, and through which he infused his own confidence and resolution into all with whom he had to co-operate. Before his death he had received a proof that his services were appreciated at home, having received the red ribbon of the Bath, which had never before been conferred on an officer of his rank ; while his first-lieutenant, Mr. Vaughan, whose conduct had called forth his frequent and energetic praises, had been promoted to the rank of Commander, with a promise of further promotion after a single year of service. On him the command of the Brigade now devolved ; and its continued efficiency in his hands showed that neither on him nor on his men had the example of their gallant Captain been lost. The remainder of the struggle, however, afforded them no opportunities for achieving any peculiar distinction ; and before the end of the summer the mutiny was so nearly quelled, that Sir Colin Campbell had no further need of their services ; they rejoined the Shannon at Calcutta, and soon afterwards returned to England.

The brigade from the Pearl under Captain Sotheby, rendered, in proportion to its smaller size, equally effective service. In the spring of 1858 it was sent along the river to the frontier of Oude to facilitate the crossing of the Nepaulese army which Jung Bahadoor was bringing to our assistance. Our men were victorious in more than one severe skirmish, and captured a fort on the bank of the river, of a strength and character which Captain Sotheby considered peculiar to Oude ; since not only was its outer wall armed with heavy guns and loopholed for musketry, but the inside also was full of rifle-pits, cross ditches, and breastworks, so that, had not the rebels escaped at the rear, our men when they had battered down the gate and effected an entrance, as they spedily did, would have found their work only begun, and themselves in what would have been but little better than a trap. They shared in several other well-fought and successful actions,

contributing in no slight degree by the accuracy of their mortar practice to the defeat of the Rajah of Gonda, at Puchawas, and to the rout of Mahomet Hussein at Hurreah, though that rebel outnumbered our force eight times over: and when in the autumn they rejoined their ship, Captain Sotheby was able to boast that they had been ten times in action with the mutineers, and had never been defeated.

At the end of September, 1857, Lord Elgin returned to China; and in the course of the next few weeks the whole of the gunboats which were expected arrived, with the addition of a splendid body of fifteen hundred marines, under Colonel Holloway, which, on hearing of the diversion of the destination of the troops originally sent out, the Admiralty had dispatched to replace them. While, before the end of October, our force was further strengthened by the great moral support afforded to it by the arrival of a plenipotentiary from France, Baron Gros, who was charged to co-operate with Lord Elgin. A French squadron, also, under the command of Rear-Admiral Rigault de Genouilly, who by his services in the Black Sea had earned the honour of the Bath from the British Queen, and had already reached Macao, to enforce the demands which the Baron was instructed to make. For, in their indiscriminate contempt for all foreigners, the Chinese had murdered several French missionaries; and had treated all complaints of the French Government, and all demands for redress, with the most arrogant disdain. The French Admiral, from the moment of his arrival, co-operated with Sir Michael in the most frank and cordial manner; and paid our alliance the compliment of hoisting the English ensign at the fore throughout his fleet, which we returned by placing the French tricolour in a similar position.

By the middle of November the Admirals, and General Van Straubenzee, the Commander of the British land force, were ready to commence operations; but the diplomatists

were not ready quite so soon. The time, however, was not lost, as there were still several creeks on both sides of the river which had never been explored, and which the gunboats were busily employed in surveying. At last, having ascertained from Sir Michael Seymour that, should such a necessity arise, he was prepared to take upon himself all the responsibility of attacking Canton, and that he would be answerable for the success of the operation, Lord Elgin, on the 10th of December, addressed to Yeh a demand for the complete and immediate execution of all the engagements comprised in the different treaties existing between Great Britain and China; and threatened Canton with attack if a definite and favourable reply were not given in ten days. To give due support to this resolute language, on the 14th the fleet quitted its anchorage at Hong Kong, and proceeded up the river; the next day, to shew Yeh how completely it was in our power to execute all that was implied by Lord Elgin's threats, we took possession of the large island of Honan, the upper end of which lies opposite to the city; and, during the next few days, as there could be little doubt of the kind of reply that would be given to the Ambassador's demand, Sir Michael prepared for the immediate commencement of the attack, landing his marines, which, as those which had been sent to India in the spring had all returned, now amounted to two thousand men, and thus placing them at the disposal of the General; and strengthening each of the gunboats with an additional gun's crew of thirteen men from the larger ships. The French Admiral also offered a thousand men from his squadron to serve on shore; and, when the day of action came, he supplied even more than he had promised.

As all had anticipated, Yeh's answer to Lord Elgin's note was wholly unsatisfactory: and, after a conference between the Ambassadors and the naval and military commanders had been held on board the French flag-ship

Audacieuse, a second note was sent in announcing to Yeh that the settlement of the disputes was now transferred to the fleet and army; and that if Canton were not surrendered within eight-and-forty hours, it would be attacked and taken. As a matter of course, it was not surrendered; and it was attacked and taken. A respite of a day or two was granted, to allow the peaceful inhabitants time to save themselves and their property by withdrawal; and Monday, the 28th of December, was fixed for the attack. On the side of the river the smaller vessels and gunboats were marshalled in three divisions to shell the city at different points, continuing the bombardment day and night till the city should fall; a mortar and rocket battery, placed on the Dutch Folly, was to co-operate with the central squadron. And on land the seamen took an equally active part: a powerful naval brigade being furnished by both Admirals. The British regular soldiers were only eight hundred; but, besides the marines, the blue jackets told off for service on shore amounted to above fifteen hundred and fifty men, and were also distributed into three divisions, under Captain K. Stewart, Captain Key, and Captain Sir R. M'Clure; the commander of the whole being Commodore Elliot, under the immediate supervision of the Admiral himself. The French brigade, rather smaller in number, was led by the gallant Admiral M. de Genouilly. They were not intended to do more on the first day than land, and take up a favorable position for scaling the walls at different points on the second day. The spot on which each was intended to advance was indicated in the general orders with the most minute precision; and with such admirable care and judgment had every arrangement been made, that the entire operations were carried out in every part exactly as they had been concerted. Throughout the whole of the 28th, the mortars, the rockets, and the long 32-pounders of the gunboats kept up a ceaseless fire on the river face of the walls of

Canton, as well as on the different heights within the city, and on the forts outside the walls to the northward; and, though the Chinese on the walls and in the forts replied with cannon, gingalls, and rockets, and though they also showed a numerous army on the hills behind, they were unable to check our steady advance; and at night the allied troops of every description bivouacked on the ground that they had been directed to occupy.

Even before daybreak on the 29th the Naval Brigade stormed a large temple within a hundred yards of the city wall. And, as soon as daylight permitted the artillery to move, it began to thunder on the ramparts at short range, and with such effect that by half-past eight the way was cleared for the advance of the scaling parties; and the two brigades, ladders in hand, rushed at full speed to the walls. The French, having attacked a few minutes earlier than the time agreed on, were the first over the wall; the first of the British sailors was Commander Fellowes of the Cruiser. Following their leaders division after division swarmed up in rapid succession, and, descending into the city, swept the various defences in the direction which had been prescribed to each. Till our men closed with them, the enemy kept up a vigorous fire, and at the north gate they appeared for a moment resolved to make a stand; but Captain Key, with two hundred and fifty men of the second division of the Naval Brigade seized an earth battery, and turned its guns upon them, and by 9 o'clock they were overpowered in every quarter, and Canton was ours. The city, indeed was so large that the allies were unable to take possession of the whole on the 29th, or even for several days afterwards; but no further resistance was made in any quarter. And this important victory had been gained with a loss to the whole force employed of less than a hundred and thirty men killed and wounded, more than one-half of whom fell in our own naval brigade, thus proving the share which that body

had borne in the achievement. One of the slain, Captain Bate, of the *Actæon*, was greatly regretted. From the first commencement of hostilities he had been most indefatigable and most skilful in his survey of the river and all its intricate tributaries; and on every occasion that offered he had been one of the foremost leaders of his men, whether on board or on shore. On the morning of the 29th he was reconnoitring the walls in search of a spot at which to fix the ladders, when he received a gingall-ball in the chest and died in a few minutes.

A few days afterwards Yeh himself, with Pehkwei and Tseankeung, all fell into our hands as prisoners; and the capture of Yeh was particularly gratifying to the Admiral, as being the unassisted work of the sailors. It was generally reported that he himself had quitted Canton; still, as several mandarins were known to be remaining there, whom, though of far less importance than Yeh himself, it was desirable to seize, General Van Straubenzee organized a military force to enter the city on the 5th of January at several different points, in the hope of thus taking them all as it were in a net; posting Captain Key, with a hundred men of his division of the Naval Brigade at the corner of the parade ground, to cut off any fugitives who might try to escape in that direction. This proved the most fortunate part of the arrangement. The officers in command of the troops, instead of waiting for Mr. Parkes, to whom, as the only Englishman in the camp well acquainted with the city, they were to have trusted for guidance, plunged blindly into the labyrinth of streets, and soon lost their way: and Key had hardly reached his post, when Mr. Parkes came up to him, complaining that, though he had just learnt that Yeh himself was still in the city, he had no force with which to secure him. Key gladly offered his services, and, following him with his sailors, soon reached the building in which the Imperial Commissioner was said to be. He found it stripped of its

furniture, and only tenanted by a single Chinese, who, under threats of instant death, revealed the place to which Yeh had retired. It was a large yamun or palace of the opposite corner of the city ; but the sailors, traversing the intermediate streets at a run, were not long in reaching it. On their way they were joined by a body of pioneers with pickaxes and sledgehammers, and they also picked up two Chinese, who corroborated the account of Yeh's being in the house to which they were hastening, and affirmed that they were well acquainted with his person. Key compelled them to accompany him, and, having reached the building pointed out, bade the pioneers break down the gates ; in spite of a garrison of Tartar troops, he forced his way through several outer courts into a room full of mandarins, one of whom came forward, and, throwing himself upon his knees, confessed himself to be Yeh. Key, however, had seen a picture of the Imperial Commissioner, for which he at once perceived that the gentleman before him had never sat ; so, disregarding his protestations, he pushed on to a door at the end of a room which opened into a back garden, at the bottom of which he saw a man, evidently of rank, clambering over the palings. To rush after him, grapple him, and pull him down, was the work of a moment, and the first glance at the features of his prisoner showed that he had now got the real Yeh, which was further proved by the mandarins in the house, who as he was brought in, prostrated themselves before him in their usual form of homage. The Chinese, too, whom Key had brought with him, identified the captive as Yeh. Giving him in charge to Commander Hood, with strict orders that he was not to be allowed to put his hand to his mouth, lest he should poison himself, Key began to search the different rooms for papers, and found, not only the treaty between China and England, concluded in 1842, and signed by our own Queen, but those also which had been made with France and the United States, and the whole body of Yeh's correspondence with

his own Emperor. He found also a great quantity of money and valuable property of various kinds ; but, except the papers, which he carried off to deliver to the Admiral, he would allow nothing to be touched ; and his men were in such a high state of discipline, that they made no attempt to pillage, although in the midst of treasures that would have enriched them for life.

In the afternoon a body of marines was sent down to aid the sailors in conducting Yeh to the British head-quarters, from which he was afterwards transferred to the *Inflexible* ; and after a short deliberation the Commanders-in-chief and the Ambassadors decided on sending him as a prisoner to Calcutta, and releasing his fellow prisoners, on condition that the General should disband his army, and that the Governor should for the future exercise his authority under the supervision of a British and French council. The forts were blown up, and the guns destroyed, and the fleet and army began to prepare for further operations. As a preliminary measure, the Ambassadors forwarded to Peking a statement of the conditions of pacification on which they had now agreed to insist, inviting the Emperor to send a plenipotentiary, with authority to conclude a peace on such terms, to meet them at Shanghai ; and they were supported in their demands by the Russian and American Ministers, Count Poutiatine and Mr. Reed ; but they had no expectation that anything that had yet been done would suffice to shake the stubborn pride of the Emperor, who regarded any calamity that befell the distant cities or provinces of his empire with supreme indifference. Should he persevere in the policy which he had hitherto adopted, they resolved to transfer their operations to the Peiho, a river in the north of China, on which Peking itself stands.

As they had fixed the 31st of March as the last day on which they would await the Chinese Ambassador at Shanghai, Lord Elgin and his French colleague quitted Hong Kong for that city at the beginning of that month ;



and Sir M. Seymour, fully agreeing with them in their expectation of the reception which their demand would meet with, prepared to follow them with the fleet as soon as the weather would permit. For operations in a river the principal reliance was again necessarily to be placed on the gunboats; and as it was of the highest importance that they should arrive on the scene of action fit for instant service, it was indispensable to wait till the north-east monsoon had passed away; and for the same reason they were ordered, when they did start, to coast along the shore, and to anchor in bad weather. The season proved severe, and the monsoon was unusually late, so that it was near the end of March before the gunboats were able to leave Hong Kong; but this was a matter of no importance, since May was the earliest time at which it was possible to calculate on the weather becoming favourable for their operation in the Peiho; and, as it happened, the stormy season lasted later than ordinary, so that the middle of that month arrived before anything could be undertaken. Lord Elgin himself had gone forward earlier; for, on finding that no ambassador from Pekin was likely to meet him at Shanghai, he had applied to Sir F. Nicolson, as the senior officer on that station, for a force to accompany him to the Gulf of Pecheli, into which the Peiho falls at the north-western corner; and Sir Frederick had escorted him thither with the whole squadron under his command, and, on the 14th of April, anchored off the river. Ten days later he was joined by the Admiral, who had worked his way up the coast through very bad weather, and against a wind uninterruptedly foul; having, even while crossing the gulf, encountered a strong north-easterly gale, which carried away the Calcutta's mainyard. On the 25th the French Admiral also arrived; but the gunboats, owing to the precautions necessary to preserve their efficiency, did not reach the anchorage till the 9th and 10th of May. They at once transferred to the flagship their sails, spars, and

surplus stores, receiving in exchange their heavy guns, which she had brought up; and so great was the energy shown by their commanders that, on the evening of their arrival they were ready for action. The wind, however, was still too rough to allow them to enter the Peiho, the entrance to which a sandbank running across the channel throughout its entire width renders full of difficulty for even small vessels, except in fair weather; nor, indeed, though there was no doubt in what manner the pending negotiations would terminate, had they yet reached a point which would justify the adoption of warlike measures. Shortly after Lord Elgin had arrived in the Gulf, the Emperor had despatched a commissioner, named Tan, to Taku, a town at the mouth of the river, to negotiate with him; and on the 24th of April, a few hours before the Admiral joined him, Lord Elgin had sent in a final statement of his demands. As usual, he was met by evasion and delay; and at last, on the 6th of May, he, acting always in perfect concert with the French Ministers, gave Tan formal notice that, if he did not receive entire satisfaction within six days, he should apply to the Admiral to enforce with his guns that observance of treaties which milder measures had proved insufficient to obtain.

The six days elapsed without producing the slightest alteration in the posture of affairs; and after a short deliberation, the Ambassadors, on the 19th of May, put the matter formally into the hands of the Admirals: expressing their own desire to advance up the river to renew the negotiations at some point nearer to the capital, or in Peking itself; and requesting them (since they had pronounced against such a movement, so long as the forts at the mouth of the river remained in the occupation of the Chinese,) to summon the garrison to surrender them, to be held as a deposit till the conclusion of a satisfactory treaty. Sir Michael acted with his usual promptitude. Some days

before he had sent forward across the bar two of his 6-gun steamers, the *Nimrod*, Captain R. Dew, the *Cormorant*, Commander Saumerez, and the *Slaney* gunboat, Lieutenant Hoskins, in company with the four French gunboats, which formed part of Admiral de Genouilly's squadron. He now despatched six more gunboats to the mouth of the river; and the next morning at eight o'clock the two flag-captains, W. K. Hall of the *Calcutta*, and M. Regnaud of the French *Nemesis*, bore in a peremptory demand for the surrender of the whole line of forts within two hours. No answer whatever was returned. In fact, from the moment that Lord Elgin had appeared off the mouth of the river the Chinese had been indefatigable in strengthening their forts, till, in spite of all their defeats on the Chukiang, they believed them impregnable. Strong indeed they were. For nearly a mile earthworks, sand-bag batteries, and parapets for heavy gingalls, had been erected on both banks of the river, while half a mile further up strongly-armed batteries had been constructed at points where a slight bend in the river enabled them to command the lower part of the channel. A hundred and thirty-six large guns and several hundred gingalls were counted from the *Cormorant's* deck. In front of them all a strong boom was stretched to prevent our passage, or at least to delay our vessels and keep them helpless for a while under the fire of the batteries; and the sides of the river were strongly staked to prevent any attempt at landing. Further back several camps strongly entrenched, and defended by flanking bastions, were visible, and they were filled by large bodies of picked troops recently sent from Peking. The Tartar soldiers are styled by the Chinese "the troops of the Eight Banners," and gaudy banners waved from every camp and battery in numbers on which their owners greatly relied to strike the allies with terror and with a full conviction of the certainty of defeat.

The lessons taught by the campaign on the Chukiang had, however, not been so lost on the British Admiral. He was confident in his own skill and the discipline and courage of his followers and allies as amply sufficient to counterbalance even greater odds than those to which he was now opposed. He even felt that there was some advantage in the length of time that had been afforded to the Chinese to complete their preparations for defence; since it would only make their discomfiture more signal, and impress upon them a deeper sense of our invincibility than they would have felt, could they have made the excuse to themselves that they had been in any degree taken by surprise. Early in the morning of the 20th he quitted the Calcutta for the Slaney, where, as none of the French ships except the gunboats could enter the narrow channel, the French Admiral also joined him, and the flags of the two Admirals were presently seen flying together from the masthead of the little vessel. Strong landing-parties had been furnished by all the larger vessels outside, to disembark and storm the forts as soon as the fire of the gunboats should have rendered such a step practicable; and our smaller gunboats had them in tow ready to advance at the proper moment.

A few minutes after ten, the signal was made to advance to the attack; Saumarez in the Cormorant led the way, and under full steam came down upon the boom. Uncertain of its strength, Saumarez with great judgment, had made all his men lie down on the deck; but though it was composed of five seven-inch cables, the shock of the good ship shivered it: she passed through, and opened fire on the batteries on the northern bank; the Nimrod followed her, and began to attack those on the south. The four French gunboats came swiftly after; the Mitraille and Fusée joining the Cormorant, the Avalanche and Dragonne seconding the Nimrod. And for some time nothing was seen but the smoke, nothing was heard but

the roar of such a cannonade as the Peiho had never yet re-echoed in the two thousand years during which the Chinese boasted that they had been acquainted with the use of gunpowder. For the enemy stood well to their guns; and their men returned our fire with vigour, steadiness and good aim, till their forts began to crumble at their feet under the terrible precision of our gunners, who, firing at a range of only four hundred yards, did not throw away a shot. At the end of an hour and a quarter their batteries were silenced; and the landing-parties attached to the gunboats at once pushed on shore. Captain Hall and Captain Regnaud led those on the south; the other division to the north was commanded by Sir F. Nicolson and Captain L'Évêque. But, after the defeat of the garrisons of the batteries, the Chinese in the camps were disheartened, and saw their forts dismantled and destroyed without further resistance: while the Admirals sent Sir F. Nicolson and his French colleague against those higher up the river, supporting them with the smaller gunboats, the Opossum, Commander Campbell, the Bustard, Lieutenant Hallows, and the Staunch, Lieutenant Wildman; and these batteries, which still kept up a galling fire, soon shared the fate of the rest. The victory, which had been accomplished with no greater loss than that of twenty-one killed and wounded on the British side, and sixty-seven on that of the French,\* was complete. The whole line of the defences at the mouth of the river, in which the Chinese had placed such confidence, was in our possession. Their army was in full retreat; and nothing now remained capable of obstructing or even delaying an advance to Tientsin, a city of great importance, about forty miles from our present position, and midway between Peking and the sea.

To Tientsin, therefore, it was now determined to advance. And, by a fortunate combination of events, it happened that every circumstance of the progress of the

\* This included 50 casualties from the blowing up of a magazine.

allies to that city was calculated to impress the Chinese with an idea of the pre-eminence of the British navy. They were British vessels whom they had seen force the barrier at the mouth of the river, and lead the attack on their forts ; and as the French gunboats were too large to make their way in so narrow a river, the British gunboats, which were on a smaller scale, had the honour of conveying the French Admiral and the French minister, and of anchoring by themselves in front of the city which had never before seen a foreign flag flying in its waters. Tientsin and its approaches were fortified. But there was no need of further measures of hostility : the spirit of the Chinese was at last completely broken. In the course of the ensuing month they concluded treaties with America, Russia, France, and England, embodying an entire concession of the demands of each nation ; the English treaty, through the judgment and firmness of Lord Elgin, containing two important provisions on which none of the other ambassadors had ventured to insist. The first sanctioned the residence of a British ambassador at Peking, the second secured to all British subjects a right of travelling over every part of China. No such concessions had ever before been thought possible by a Chinese, nor been proposed by an European. And the fact that the Emperor was at last brought to sign a treaty which confirmed them, was the strongest possible testimony to the real importance of the victory that had just been gained, and to the helpless condition to which it had reduced the Empire.

Lord Elgin was charged with the further duty of proceeding to Japan, to present the Emperor of that country with a steam-yacht, and to negotiate a commercial treaty with that potentate. And Sir Michael Seymour, with a view of investing the commission with every possible circumstance of dignity, would have escorted him to Yeddo, had not intelligence been received in the middle of July that the Canton district was again in a disturbed state ; on

which he sent forward the gunboats to Hong Kong, and, after accompanying the Ambassador as far as Nagasaki, and leaving a small squadron under the command of Captain Barker of the *Retribution*, 28, as a body-guard for Lord Elgin, sailed himself to the southward. He reached the mouth of the Chukiang on the 20th of August, and found that disturbances had at one time broken out to an extent which had threatened to become serious; and that at a town called Namtao a flag of truce had been fired at, and one of our seamen had been killed. But his death, and the insult to our flag had been speedily avenged. Commodore Keith Stewart with a squadron of gunboats, and the General with a battalion of the 59th, had attacked and taken the offending town, and had restored order. It was not the last outbreak of the kind, but, though it was no secret that the Mandarins were discontented and unfriendly, the presence of the Admiral himself served to deter them from displaying their feelings in any way that might provoke him to repeat the terrible chastisements which he had already inflicted on them; and the last few months of his command were passed in tranquillity.

They were rendered memorable, however, by a very remarkable exploit of Captain Barker and Captain Osborn. After Lord Elgin had brought his negotiations at Yeddo to a close, he crossed over to Shanghai, and prepared to make a voyage up the Yang-tse-kiang, ostensibly in order to judge what ports on its banks he should require to be opened to our trade, so as to secure to our merchants the full benefit of the treaty of Tientsin; but having also at least equally in view the diffusion of the belief in our irresistible power, which the sight of a British squadron in those strange waters could not fail to produce. A great impression had been made sixteen years before by the skill with which Sir W. Parker forced his way to Nankin; but Lord Elgin desired now to reach Hankow, a city at least six hundred miles further up the river; and the most inland of all the

places at which the treaty permitted our establishment of a port. It was peculiarly adapted for such a purpose, being already famous as a mart for all the varied produce of the surrounding provinces; among which an abundance of copper and coal were not the least important inducements to select it for the visits of our ships. The Admiral therefore now placed a squadron under Captain Barker's command, consisting, besides his own vessel the Retribution, of the Furious, 8, Captain S. Osborn; the Cruiser, 17, Commander Bythesea; the gunboat Lee, Lieutenant Jones; and the surveying-vessel Dove, Commander Ward; who, under Captain Otter, had been first-lieutenant of the Alban in the Baltic. Trusting in that officer's skill as a pilot, Captain Barker cheerfully undertook the voyage which Lord Elgin proposed to him; and in the second week of October the squadron started up the river. They met with difficulties on which they had not reckoned. Such changes had taken place in the bed of the river since Kellet and Collinson had surveyed it, that the charts, on which those officers had expended so much labour and skill, had become useless; the ships often taking the ground in places where the Cornwallis had found deep water. The very first day of the voyage every one of the larger vessels was arrested in this way. Nor was any care sufficient to avoid a frequent repetition of similar accidents.

As the squadron approached Nankin it was found that it had also other dangers to encounter. A formidable rebellion had for many years been raging in different parts of the Chinese Empire. The rebels had obtained possession of Nankin; and just at this moment a powerful Imperialist force, consisting of an army on shore and a flotilla of war-junks in the river, was besieging them on both sides. It was not quite certain what view either party would take of our squadron. So, as an experiment, Captain Barker sent the Lee forward, with instructions to proceed quietly on his way, if he could; if that should not be permitted,



to hoist a flag of truce, and open a communication with those in the city if possible; but under no circumstances whatever to commence hostilities against either party. Lieutenant Jones had not proceeded far when the rebel flag was hoisted on the forts, and a rapid fire opened on the little vessel. On this Captain Barker signalled to him to engage, and with all his squadron bore up to support him. A smart action now began, and lasted for half an hour, during which the rebels from their batteries on both banks of the river assailed us with a determined fire, which, however, was fortunately in general a little too high; and we returned it with shot and shell, moving at the same time steadily onwards till we had passed their batteries, when, as it was getting late, we anchored for the night. No ship had lost a man but the Retribution, which had one killed and two wounded; but several had had narrow escapes, and among them Lord Elgin himself, who was standing on the bridge between the paddle-boxes of the Furious when a round-shot cut through a rope hardly two feet above his head.

But, of all nations in the world, the Chinese, whether loyal subjects or rebels, are the people from whom it is least safe to put up with an insult; and Captain Barker decided that the gratuitous attack that had been made on the Lee called aloud for chastisement, and, with the full concurrence of the Ambassador, resolved to inflict it the next day. Accordingly, at daybreak, the squadron dropped down the river, the Cruiser leading the way; and Commander Bythessea, reserving his strength till he was within fifty yards of the battery assigned to him as his antagonist, poured upon it so tremendous a fire that he disabled it in a few minutes. The other ships followed his example with equal effect, and, in a little more than an hour, destroyed all the batteries at the end of the city highest up the stream, without having lost a single man.

The Retribution was too deep in the water to proceed

much further; but the rest of the squadron proceeded on its way under Captain Osborn, and, a week later, the action at Nankin was repeated on a smaller scale, at a city called Nganking, which was also in possession of the rebels, and also at that moment besieged by a loyal army. The Imperial General apparently thought our approach an event favorable to a more than usually vigorous attack which he was preparing to make upon the rebels; and they so far adopted his idea, as to conclude that we were necessarily not friendly to them, and to fire upon us as enemies. A very few broadsides, however, drove them from their guns; and throughout the remainder of the voyage our sailors met with no further opposition from them.

The daily-increasing intricacy of the navigation was by itself enough to contend with; but all difficulties yielded to Osborn's persevering resolution and seaman-like skill. Ward, too, surveyed the channel with great diligence and accuracy; and, piloted by him, the squadron reached Hankow in safety; and, after a careful examination of the city and its resources, prepared to return: but, since it had gone up, the river had been rapidly sinking, and when it reached a town called Kew Kiang, about fifty miles below Hankow, it was found impossible for the Furious and Cruiser to proceed. That the Ambassador, however, should return without delay was indispensable; and accordingly he embarked on board the Lee, and with her and the Plover, passed rapidly down the stream, rejoined the Retribution at Wohoo, a little above Nankin, and at the beginning of the new year reached Shanghai in safety. A week afterwards they were again joined by the Furious and Cruiser, which had been released from their imprisonment by a sudden flood. The whole squadron had accomplished a voyage which, though not surpassing or even quite equalling in difficulty our exploits on the Irrawaddy, or the Parana, was looked upon by the Chinese as without a

parallel, and produced on their minds all the impression at which Lord Elgin had aimed when he proposed it to Captain Barker. It was a brilliant termination of Sir Michael Seymour's command. He had been out his allotted period of three years ; and, according to the practice of the service, a successor, Rear-Admiral James Hope, who had already earned a high reputation as the Captain of the *Firebrand* at *Obligado*, was on his way to succeed him. In April the two Admirals met at Singapore ; and Sir Michael, resigning the command, returned home, having, during his comparatively brief period of service, entirely subdued China in both her southern and her northern provinces ; and having throughout all his exploits set as admirable an example of humanity to the vanquished as of courage and skill in organising his attacks and securing his victories.

## CHAPTER XLVII.

1859—1862.

Admiral Hope proceeds to the Peiho—His passage up the river is resisted—Attack on the Forts—We are repulsed—Death of Captain Vansittart—Preparations to retrieve the disaster—English and French armies are sent to China—They land at Pehtang—Capture Pehtang, and the Peiho Forts—The fleet and army advance to Tientsin—Peace with the Emperor—Operations against the Chinese rebels—Conclusion.

HAD the authorities at home supposed the peace that had just been concluded as precarious as it proved, they would probably have paused before they removed an Admiral who had already had three years' experience of Chinese warfare, whatever might have been the renown of his destined successor. But a general belief was entertained by the ministers at home, by those who had negotiated the treaties, and by the officers who remained on the spot, that the Chinese were at last thoroughly humbled to a conviction of our superior power, and would again prove as faithful to the treaty which they had signed as we had found them for some years after the peace of Nankin. Admiral Hope could, of course, have no reason to form any other opinion: and when, two months after his assumption of the command, he, according to his orders, proceeded to the mouth of the Peiho, it was rather as a peaceful escort to do honour to our own ambassador in the eyes of a friendly or, at least, a submissive nation, that he expected to employ the force under his command, than as a warlike host against a defiant and resolute enemy. For the treaty which had been concluded in the preceding year stipulated that we

were to send an envoy to Peking to exchange the necessary ratifications by the 26th of June; and Lord Elgin's brother, Mr. Bruce, who had acted as secretary to his embassy, had been invested with the character of Minister Plenipotentiary to perform that act, and to take up his residence in China to carry out the treaty on our part, and to watch over the due execution by the Chinese of all the other provisions that had been agreed upon.

On the 18th of June the Admiral arrived off the Peiho,\* and at once proceeded to announce to the Chinese authorities of Taku the approach of our Ambassador, and to examine the river in order to see whether any obstacles had been interposed to prevent his immediate voyage to Peking. He was speedily undeceived as to the feelings and intentions of the Chinese. The officer whom he sent with his message was refused permission to land; and was informed that there were no officers with whom he could communicate nearer than

\* The fleet which Admiral Hope had with him consisted of the following vessels, all steamers:—

51	Chesapeake. . . . .	{ Rear-Admiral J. Hope.
		{ Captain G. O. Willes.
21	Highflyer . . . . .	Captain C. Shadwell, C.B.
16	Magicienne. . . . .	Captain N. Vansittart, C.B.
17	Cruiser . . . . .	Commander Bythesea.
	{ Fury . . . . .	Commander J. Commerell.
6	{ Cormorant . . . . .	Commander A Wodehouse.
	{ Nimrod . . . . .	Acting-Commander Wynniatt.

Gunboats:—

	{ Lee . . . . .	Lieutenant Jones.
	{ Opossum. . . . .	Lieutenant Balfour.
	{ Haughty . . . . .	Lieutenant Broad.
	{ Forester . . . . .	Lieutenant Innes.
4	{ Banterer . . . . .	Lieutenant Jenkins.
	{ Starling . . . . .	Lieutenant Whitehead.
	{ Plover . . . . .	Lieutenant Rason.
	{ Janus . . . . .	Lieutenant Knevit.
	{ Kestrel . . . . .	Lieutenant Bevan.

Two of the guns of each gunboat were howitzers. They had also between them a large rocket battery; and, before the action that ensued, each boat was furnished with an additional 32-pounder from the Chesapeake, and a gun's crew to work it.

Tientsin : and a very short reconnaissance convinced him that the obstructions in the river, and the fortifications on land, had been thoroughly repaired and in some respects considerably strengthened since Sir Michael Seymour had shown the Chinese the insufficiency of their old defences. The forts which had then been destroyed had been replaced by well-made earthworks, the strength of which the Admiral could not ascertain, since the embrasures were in general covered up ; it was afterwards found that the row of batteries on the right bank mounted above fifty heavy guns, and that the two forts higher up on the left bank, skilfully placed so as to rake any vessels that might advance abreast of those on the right, had twelve guns more. The river itself too was filled with obstructions of various kinds, well calculated to detain our vessels under their fire. For the Chinese had been taught by Captain Saumarez the year before, that a single boom, however strong, could not check the advance of ships resolutely driven against it. And therefore they did not now trust to one kind of barrier alone. The bar or bank at the river's mouth they had left in its natural condition, their confidence in the obstacles which they had placed higher up apparently leading them to wish our vessels to cross it, and so to place themselves in a position from which it would be difficult to retreat ; but above it, in front of the batteries, the whole channel of the river and the banks on each side were full of contrivances to delay and cripple any vessel or crew that might attempt to force its way by land or water. To prevent any endeavour to storm the line of forts on the right bank, two ditches, one fifteen feet wide and five deep, the other twenty-five feet wide with six feet of water, were drawn across its entire length ; and behind the last ditch numerous rows of sharp-pointed piles were driven deep into the mud. In the channel itself, opposite to the first battery, enormous iron stakes, each weighing

several tons, and forked above and below, were fixed in the bottom of the river, at intervals of thirty feet, their upper points reaching within two feet of high-water mark : a little higher up, opposite to the centre of the right-hand forts, and well commanded by those on the left, which were scarcely nine hundred yards off, was a boom composed of three stout cables, one of hemp, and two of iron chain ; and four hundred yards farther on, two great rafts of timber stretched, one from each bank ; not exactly opposite to each other, but leaving a small oblique gap between them, though so narrow was it that, when the strength of the stream was taken into consideration, it was hardly possible for even a gunboat to pass safely through.

These preparations certainly seemed scarcely compatible with a friendly purpose ; but, as the Chinese thought the time for showing their real feelings was not yet come, on the Admiral requiring that the obstructions should be cleared away that he might convey our ambassador to Tientsin, he was assured that they were intended only to impede the operations of smugglers, and that they should be instantly removed. He could hardly avoid distrusting the sincerity of this promise : so, to be ready for any event, he at once brought up the fleet to an anchorage off the bar, and took the *Lee* and one or two other small vessels inside. In the *Lee* he reconnoitred the forts in person, and in her, when he returned to the Chesapeake, he left Commander Bythesea with a charge to watch well the forts and the river, and to report to him any movement of the enemy in either. On the 20th, finding that no steps had been taken to carry out the promise that had been given to him, he addressed a letter to the Commissioner at Tientsin, demanding its instant fulfilment ; and the next day Mr. Bruce, who began to feel equally certain that the Chinese were acting under some stronger impulse than

their mere usual love of treachery and evasion, sent him word that he depended on him to secure a free passage up the river. An ambassador from France, M. de Bourboulon, was to accompany Mr. Bruce to Pekin, and like him was now at the mouth of the Peiho; but, as the *Duchayla*, the corvette in which he had come, was not calculated for river operations, he was forced to content himself with expressing his concurrence in Mr. Bruce's request to the British Admiral; and, on receiving this intimation, Hope despatched a second letter to the Commissioner, giving him notice that, if the obstructions in the river were not instantly cleared away, he should himself remove them by force, and that the responsibility would rest upon those who, in violation of existing treaties, drove him to such a course of action. He waited three days for a reply; and, as none was given, on the 24th he took the rest of the gunboats and one or two of the smaller sloops inside the bar, to prepare for instant operations, and sent in a last warning, that, unless steps were taken to satisfy his demands by eight o'clock that evening, he should feel at liberty to compel a compliance with them by force. And at the same time, in some junks which had been detained with that object, he also sent forward Colonel Lemon with a body of marines, some of whom had been brought up from Canton, while others belonged to the larger ships of the squadron, which were forced to remain outside. They, with some coolies under Captain Temple and a few small-arm men, constituted a battalion nearly seven hundred strong, who, if the occasion should require, were to act as a landing-party, and carry the batteries by storm. But in all probability there was not a man, either among them or in the fleet, who believed the Chinese capable of making a protracted resistance to the force about to be brought against them. It was too soon discovered that if,



in the course of the last few years, we had taught them many things, we had, among others, taught them to fight.

But the Admiral, though full of confidence, did not allow it to lead him to any neglect of proper caution. Seeing hostilities to be inevitable, he took steps to reconnoitre the enemy's position still more closely. As a measure of humanity, in the course of the evening he sent Captain Willes to Taku, which was immediately in the rear of the batteries, to warn the inhabitants that an attack might be expected, and thus to give them time to provide for their own safety. And, while Captain Willes was delivering his message, Lieutenant Wilson of the Chesapeake, and Mr. Broome the gunner, pulled on in his gig, and carefully examined the boom. The answer of the people of Taku was haughty and menacing. They bade the messengers understand "that they did not receive orders from foreigners; that Mr. Bruce might go round to the Pchtang,\* where the Governor was waiting for him; but that, if he touched the barriers, the batteries would fire on us." Captain Willes returned to the Admiral, and later in the night proceeded again up the river with three boats; blew the boom asunder with barrels of gunpowder; and, advancing onward, carefully examined the inner boom or raft. While he was thus engaged, soon after midnight, the moon rose, and revealed his position and occupation to the Chinese, who began firing on him, and forced him to retire, when the report that he brought back convinced the Admiral that the plan which afforded the best prospect of success was first to attack the front of the works with the gunboats; and, when they had silenced the batteries, then to storm them with the landing-party.

The strength of the tide and current, and the length of time which it consequently required to place the gun-

\* Another river, a few miles north of the Peiho, with which, at a distance of about 30 miles from the sea, it communicates by a canal.

under her original commander, Lieutenant Jones.

# THE MOUTH OF THE PEI-HO.

*Shewing the Defences  
of the Attack on 25<sup>th</sup> June 1859.  
Original by Major Fisher: R.E.*

*to the Mud.*

*were almost covered at high water. See Fig 1.*

*Logs attached, carried away by tide before attack. See Fig 2.*

*the River: Fig 3.*

*strongly lashed and very massive. Fig 4*

*above the mud driven closely*

*number of Embrasures in each portion, and the  
each portion*

*outer walls of each Bastion, G and I, as if to*

*they were not removed during the attack*

*into the position of "ormorant, "Lee" and "Plover"*



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



tance of about 30 miles from the sea, it communicates by a canal.

boats in the positions assigned to them, prevented the attack from taking place as early in the day as the Admiral had originally intended. It was to be executed by the Nimrod, the Cormorant, and nine gunboats, distributed in two divisions: he himself, quitting the Chesapeake, hoisted his flag in the Plover; and under him Captain Shadwell, who for this service had been transferred to the Banterer, commanded the first or right division; Captain Vansittart, in the Forester, the second or left. The principal attack was to be made on the Taku Forts, or those on the right bank; and stretching from one side of the channel to the other at a bend of the river, the Starling, Janus, Plover, Cormorant, Lee,\* Kestrel, and Banterer, were now placed in a line as nearly as possible parallel to them. The Forester was just behind, being intended to fill up the Plover's place when the Admiral himself should advance in front of his line. The Nimrod was stationed a little further in the rear, that her fire might check that of the batteries on the left bank. Behind her the Haughty was held in reserve; while Captain Willes in the Opossum was to go in front of the whole, and at a given signal was to begin pulling up the iron stakes which lay between the squadron and the first boom.

It was about two o'clock when the expected signal was made; the Opossum's task was hard: but her Captain and crew were skilful and resolute; in half an hour they had opened a passage to the rest; and the little squadron, joined by the Haughty, which the Admiral now brought up from the reserve, moved on in steady and compact order towards the boom. They had expected to penetrate it with ease at the point where it had been blown asunder in the night; but the Chinese

\* Commander Bythessae's exertions had exposed him to a sunstroke, which wholly disabled him for a few days, so that the Lee on this occasion was under her original commander, Lieutenant Jones.

had already repaired it, and it presented as solid a barrier to our advance as before. As yet a dead silence prevailed in the Chinese works; scarcely a man was to be seen, and scarcely a gun; but the instant the Opossum struck the boom, the embrasures, which were previously concealed with stout wooden mantlets, were uncovered, and the batteries on both sides opened upon our men with an excellently aimed fire of very heavy guns. Hope replied to it by signalling to his own followers to engage, and brought the Plover close up to the boom to set the example. The Opossum, Lee, and Haughty, took their stations in succession astern of her; but the Admiral had not all the force on which he had reckoned, for, owing to the narrowness of the channel at the point where he had first arranged the boats in line, the Banterer at the northern extremity, and the Starling at the southern, had both got aground: the former, indeed, in a position where she could still do some service against the forts furthest down the stream; but the latter where she could take no share in the action. It soon became apparent that none of our force could be spared. In half-an-hour the Plover was disabled, her commander, Lieutenant Rason, was killed; the Admiral himself was severely wounded in the thigh, and, of her original crew of forty men, nine only remained unhurt. Hope sent a boat down below the stakes to borrow some more men, and renew the action; and shifted his flag into the Opossum, directing Captain Willes to take her close in under the forts. Here he received a second wound: unable to move, he had taken his place on the caboose, when a shot knocked away the funnel-chains against which he was leaning, and precipitated him on the deck below with a violence that broke one of his ribs. It was soon found that Captain Willes could not obey his orders, for the Opossum's screw had become fouled, and she

began to drift unmanageable and helpless down the stream. But, in spite of his sufferings, the Admiral himself would not retire. The Opossum's boats were riddled with shot; but the gallant French Captain, M. Tricault, who had been by his side throughout the day, lent him one of his, and in her proceeded with him to the Cormorant, in which he now hoisted his flag. On her deck, lying in his cot, he still for some time directed the battle; but at last, the pain of his wounds and the exhaustion consequent upon the loss of blood overpowered even his indomitable spirit, and, sending for Captain Shadwell, he entrusted that officer with the conduct of the active operations for the remainder of the day.

Still the battle raged, though on each side with diminished fury. The Opossum having cleared her screw, had returned to her place. The Plover, too, having repaired her damages, and being now under the command of Flag-lieutenant Douglas, had come back with an almost fresh crew, which she had obtained from the junks, and was again plying her guns with vigour; but the Kestrel had sunk almost to her gunwale; the Lee was so utterly disabled, that her commander was forced to run her aground to save her from a similar fate; the Haughty had fared but little better; and the tide had fallen so greatly since the commencement of the action, that the whole squadron was now several feet more below the forts than it had been at first, and its fire was proportionally less effective. But the Chinese had also suffered greatly. Their loss in men we had no means of ascertaining, but our fire had been as true as usual, and had been seen to dismount gun after gun. And though, for a time, the enemy replaced their damaged pieces, yet at the end of four hours the forts on the left bank were nearly silenced, and half-an-hour later, five guns were all that were in a condition to continue their fire on the right bank. Captain Shadwell now took counsel with his brother Captains,

Vansittart and Willes. Crippled as were our ships, we had fewer than a hundred and twenty men disabled ; a thousand were still unhurt and eager to continue the action ; and our experience of every previous conflict with the Chinese, led every one to the conclusion that they had but little heart for a fight at close quarters, and that now, when a serious impression had been made on their batteries, victory only waited for us to stretch out our hands to grasp it. It was decided, therefore, to land and storm the forts ; the Admiral's sanction to the attempt was asked and readily given. And, soon after seven o'clock in the evening, the force which throughout the day had been held in reserve with this object, pulled to the right bank at a point nearly opposite to the lowest batteries on that side of the river.

At the head of our men were Shadwell, Vansittart and Colonel Lemon of the Marines ; supported by Commanders Commerell of the *Fury*, and Heath of the *Assistance* troopship, with Major Fisher of the Engineers, and Major Parke of the Marines. With them also advanced at the head of a small party of seamen from the *Duchayla*, the gallant Captain Tricault, who, at Hope's side, had already shared the dangers of the day, and now hoped to share its crowning triumph. Nor at that moment were we wanting for assistance from another nation, though as far as regarded our dealings with China, we were not connected with it by any formal alliance. The *Toeywan*, an American steam-vessel, was also in the river, and her Commander, flag-officer Tannall, had already shown his sympathy for the Admiral's personal misfortunes, by going through the enemy's fire to visit him, when he heard of his wounds. This act of kindness had been performed at no slight risk to himself, since, as he ran alongside the *Cormorant*, his coxswain was killed, and his boat was sunk by a cannon-shot ; but that disaster did not diminish his zeal for our success ; and he now stood in and conveyed to

land more than one detachment of our storming-party. The landing itself was difficult, for the receding tide had left large banks of deep mud between the shrunk channel and the firm ground; and through this mud our men had to wade for many yards, often sinking so deep as to spoil their ammunition. One circumstance alone appeared for a moment in their favour. It so happened that the spot on which the Lee had been run aground was just below the landing-place, and Lieutenant Jones, gladly seizing the opportunity of being again of service, covered them with a heavy cannonade as they formed and struggled onwards. Hardly, however, had they left the water's edge, when, with every cannon that was still serviceable, with countless gingalls, rifles, and muskets, the Chinese opened fire upon them, with an aim even more deadly than before. Vansittart was shot through the neck with a rifle-ball; he pressed his hand on the wound to stop the blood, and still rushed forward. In a few moments more a round-shot carried away his leg. A gingall-ball smashed Shadwell's foot. Colonel Lemon fell severely wounded; and the lead now devolved on Commander Commerell, who, though his men were falling fast around and behind him, still undauntedly pressed forward with the survivors. As the first ditch depended on the tide, and as it was but little past the hour of low water, it was nearly empty; and at the head of the leading division he crossed it in safety. The second, twenty yards further on, and close beneath the walls of the fort, was full; and here at last he halted, to find his immediate followers reduced to fifty, while a second body, too much exhausted to pass the first ditch, scarcely amounted to three times that number. Of the rest, above three hundred had been stricken down in their brief but disastrous charge. And Commerell, who fortunately remained unhurt, was forced to come to the conclusion that, though he could still hold



his ground with those who remained to him, their numbers were now too few to afford a possibility of success in an attempt to storm the ramparts: Commander Heath, Major Fisher, Major Parke, and Captain Tricault coincided in his views, and, with their cordial approval, he despatched a messenger to Shadwell to request a reinforcement. There were no fresh men who could be sent; and Shadwell was obliged to reply to the request with an order to retire.

Even the retreat was not without its difficulties. The tide had been rapidly rising for above two hours, and had carried the boats, which had been left each with a single boatkeeper, up the stream towards the boom. Two of them had already drifted so far that they had been seized by the Chinese, and more would have shared their fate had they not been brought up by the stakes which still remained fixed in the bed of the river. Fortunately Captain Willes, having been held in reserve, was still afloat. He too had been wounded in the morning, but throughout the whole day not a man had regarded a wound that did not absolutely disable him; and he now with untiring exertions collected boats enough to carry off the survivors of the gallant band. Some, it is to be feared, were still left behind; for the Chinese, with yells of triumph, showered fireballs along the front, and, by their light, still kept up a galling fire on our ranks, striking down many, who lay helpless in the mud till the returning tide buried them beneath its water. Midnight had long passed, when Commerell and Heath, having embarked every man who could be discovered, stepped, the last men on shore, into the last boat, and with heavy hearts pulled back to their ships.

Even then the disasters of the day were not terminated. The Haughty had apparently shared the fate of the Kestrel. The Plover, on a second time retiring after the storming-party had landed, had in the dusk mistaken the Lee for a vessel at anchor in midchannel, and had run on shore

alongside her; the Cormorant too had got aground: the Starling as has been mentioned before, had long been in the same condition. And the tide on the 26th was so much lower than it had been on the preceding day, that every attempt to move the greater part of them failed, and for some time it was supposed that the whole of these vessels would be lost also. The Nimrod, which from her position had received but little injury, took out all their men, and stayed by them to protect them; but few entertained a hope of saving any except the Starling, which, having been but little exposed to the fire of the batteries, floated in the course of the afternoon, and was speedily secured by Mr. O. Sampson, her second master, though the Chinese directed a fierce cannonade at her as soon as they saw her in motion. Happily the next morning the ebb-tide was unusually strong; and the Kestrel and Haughty, whose case had appeared the most desperate of all, were also got afloat, remanned and saved. But no efforts could extricate the Cormorant, the Plover, or the Lee. No man in the whole squadron had distinguished himself by a deed of more desperate gallantry than had been performed by the Lee's boatswain, Mr. Woods, who, on the 25th when the vessel was rapidly sinking, with twenty-eight shotholes below the water-line, volunteered to go down over her side and stop them. Lieutenant Jones warned him that, as the boat must still keep her steam up to maintain her station, if he escaped being drowned by the violence of the stream, or being shot by the enemy, he would in all probability be caught by the screw and crushed to death by that: but he persevered in his heroic offer; and, held up by a rope round his waist, though the ebbing tide often swept him its whole length astern, he succeeded in plugging every hole. But even his exertions failed to save the vessel for which he had dared so much. All that could be done was to remove the stores from her and her two com-

panions in misfortune, and to batter them so severely as to render them useless to the Chinese except as trophies. The others were soon repaired. In spite of his wounds, the Admiral, on the 26th, had gone himself in the Coromandel, to the squadron outside for artificers and materials. He returned the next day. By the unwearied exertions of the remaining officers, what remained of the squadron was got ready for sea in a week, and on the 3rd of July repassed the bar.

We had met with a great disaster: above eighty men had been killed on the spot, 350 more had been wounded; many of them so severely, that they too died in the course of a few days or weeks. Among these last was Captain Vansittart, who, from his first entrance into the service had shown himself foremost in every danger, and not less conspicuous for professional skill; who, throughout his whole career had alike secured the esteem of his superior officers and the attachment of those under his command, and whose untimely though most honorable death awakened one feeling of deep universal regret throughout the fleet. But our defeat had been attended with no disgrace. No one could reproach the Admiral for conducting the attack in a way which had never failed against the Chinese before; and in the long and glorious records of the British navy more dauntless courage and more unshaken resolution had never been displayed. There could be no disgrace in such a defeat, provided those who had sustained it did not sit down to lament it in tame despondency, but like men exerted themselves to retrieve it. And despondency was a feeling very foreign to the character of the British Admiral. The next week he withdrew the fleet from the Gulf of Pecheli, sending most of the gunboats to Shanghai, and retiring himself to Kingtang, near Ningpo, as a healthy anchorage for the summer months, in which he and his fellow-sufferers might recover from their wounds.

But at the same time, being already intent on the retrieval of his defeat, he sent Commander Bythesea, whose health was now restored, and Major Fisher, with the Cruiser and two gunboats, to the northern frontier of China, to survey the whole coast from the Great Wall down to the smaller rivers to the south of Peiho. And the wise foresight which dictated this employment of these officers was abundantly shown by the use which, in the operations of the following year, was made of the report which they presently furnished.

The news of our discomfiture at the Peiho, except in the hearts of those whose friends had fallen in the conflict, did not so much awaken sorrow as for a misfortune which it would be hard to remedy, as indignation at the treachery of the Chinese in thus violating a treaty which they had so recently concluded; and surprise that they should at last have found courage to back up their treachery by so well planned, so stout, and so successful a resistance. No one blamed those who had suffered the defeat; for all felt that, had they been in their place, they themselves would have acted, or would have wished to have acted, like them. But at the same time all likewise felt that the national glory had received a wound which could only be healed by a decisive triumph on the same spot. And preparations were instantly made to despatch to the scene of action a force that should prove to the vain-glorious enemy that, if we only chose to put forth our strength, we were as irresistible as ever; and that our disaster, which was filling them with exultation, had arisen only from our having held them in too great contempt. Since the consequence of the late battle had been the disruption of the treaty which the Chinese Emperor had concluded with our allies, as well as of that with ourselves, the French Government coincided with us in the resolution to enforce its renewal, and to exact better securities than had been given before for its faithful

observance; and it was agreed that a combined force should, at the proper season in the next year, proceed to the Peiho, sufficient to inflict on the Chinese chastisement for the insult, and, as far as might be, to compel reparation for the injury that we had suffered. The army which we were to furnish was fixed at ten thousand men: the greater part of whom were to go from India, which was now restored to tranquillity; and Sir Hope Grant was appointed to the command. The French were to furnish seven thousand under General Montauban; and early in the spring the two Generals arrived at Hong Kong, in advance of the greater part of their troops. Some slight reinforcements were at the same time sent out to our fleet. Rear-Admiral L. Jones, came as second in command, to hoist his flag in the *Impérieuse*, and our squadron of gunboats was largely reinforced. While the French sent out two Admirals, Vice-Admiral Charner and Rear-Admiral Page, and some iron gunboats, which were brought out in the two flagships, in detached pieces, to be put together when they should reach the scene of action.

The arrangements for the transport and disembarkation of our army fell upon Admiral Hope, who from the first moment that he received intelligence of the plans on which the Home Government had decided, began to bend all the faculties of his mind to every detail that could ensure success. Commander Bythesea and Major Fisher, in the preceding autumn, had reported the Pehtang, nine miles to the north of the Peiho, to be equally navigable with that river; and Hope, inclining to adopt its banks as the landing-place on this occasion, at the beginning of the spring sent up Captain Hand of the *Sampson* to examine the surrounding coast, and to select some safe anchorage for the numerous fleet which he was preparing to lead thither. He especially directed his attention to Talienwan Bay on the north side of the Gulf of Pecheli: and Captain Hand, having carefully surveyed

it, pronounced it in every respect fit for the reception and shelter of the ships. Steam-vessels were now sent down to Singapore to meet the transports, and tow them on ; while, to provide for their disembarkation, the Admiral, recollecting the plans of Sir Edmund Lyons, which had succeeded so well in the Black Sea, began to construct rafts, and moveable stages capable of bearing cavalry and artillery. And, in case it should prove necessary to land in the mud, he likewise built a number of flat-bottomed boats. He also, as the water in the Chinese river was often brackish, fitted up one steamer as a distilling-vessel ; and in the campaign that ensued scarcely one of his precautions was found of more use, or more important to the comfort and health of the men.

Our soldiers, having a shorter distance to travel than the French, were ready first. By the end of May our whole force was ready to leave Hong Kong. The weather, however, was unfavorable, the monsoon was violent and late, and, on the 1st of June, a furious gale attacked both fleets. The Assistance, one of our finest transports, was wrecked, happily without loss of life ; and the French lost two, laden with great quantities of military stores, the want of which was afterwards sorely felt by their soldiers. A day or two afterwards, however, the weather became calm enough for the transports and gunboats to proceed ; on the 9th of June Admiral Hope, having seen the main body safely off, weighed anchor himself ; and on the 25th, the anniversary of our defeat, the whole squadron anchored safely in Talienwan Bay. Here, as the French could not be expected for some weeks, Sir Hope Grant determined on disembarking his men, and encamped them in divisions along the shore. A fortnight afterwards, Lord Elgin, who had again been sent out as Plenipotentiary, joined the expedition. Before the end of the month the French reported themselves in readiness to commence operations,

and on the 30th of July the combined fleets anchored off the Pehtang, about nine miles from the mouth of the river. It had been decided that the troops should land on the right, or southern bank of the Pehtang, and from thence should march upon the Peiho, where they would be aided by the fleet in the attack upon the forts which we had already found so formidable. Commander Ward, who had surveyed the whole of the surrounding coast and waters with great diligence, reported the stream to be clear of obstructions, but on the 31st the weather was too rough to allow anything to be done. Soon after daybreak, on the 1st of August, it cleared up; and immediately the transports weighed and stood in towards the mouth of the river: across which, as at the Peiho, was a bar or sand-bank that could only be passed at high water. The Admiral himself led the way over the bar in the Coromandel, and superintended the movements of the boats in person. Some of the gunboats towed in the boats, into which the troops had been removed; and, about three in the afternoon, the landing began. Ward had reported the existence of two six-gun forts on the banks; and, to prevent any annoyance from them, Rear-Admiral Jones was sent up the river with one squadron of gunboats: but no resistance was offered, and it was afterwards found that the guns were only wooden, and made for show.

The town of Pehtang was occupied at once; but the labour of getting all the troops, stores, baggage, and artillery on shore, and in marching order, and in mending the roads by which they were to advance, was so tedious that it was the 12th of August before the Generals were prepared to advance. Marching towards the Peiho they took one or two unimportant villages, scarcely any resistance being offered except in front of a small place called Tangkoo, where an earth battery, supported by a few junks, opened fire upon the troops as soon as they came within range. The artillery could only get at them from a dis-

tance; but Captain Willes and Commander Gibson, of the Chesapeake, crossed the river with a small party in some Chinese sampans; stormed the battery under a smart fire, spiked the guns, burnt the junks, and rejoined their ship with no greater loss than that of one man severely wounded. At last, on the 20th, the Generals were in a condition to propose to the Admirals to commence the combined attack the next day on the forts on the left bank of the Peiho, which, in the opinion of our engineers, were the key to the whole position. The proposal was gladly agreed to; the gunboats and rocketboats of both fleets at once moved round, and entered that river; and at daybreak the army opened fire. The gunboats, not being able to cross the bar till the tide rose, were somewhat later; but the delay was of no consequence: the Chinese fought bravely, but the force brought against them was irresistible. On one side the army, with its heavy Armstrongs, battered their works,\* and dismounted their guns, some of which were afterwards found to have been taken from our own gunboats which had been lost in the preceding year. On the other side, the gunboats, which, as they came up, the Admiral skilfully placed so as to be almost out of the line of the enemy's fire, shelled the fort with admirable precision, and blew up its magazines. Meanwhile the troops pushed on steadily; at the end of three hours two English officers, at the head of a small party of the 44th and 69th, forced their way through one of the gates; almost at the same moment, Ensign Chaplain of the 67th scaled the wall, and hoisted on it the colours of his regiment. And, though the enemy still made a stout resistance, the British and French bayonets soon overpowered it. The fort was taken, and its fall drew after

\* The military guns employed were, 16 British and 4 French guns, and 3 British mortars.—Col. Wolseley's 'Narrative,' p. 129.



it that of all the others on both sides of the river. The loss of the army had been heavy. The gunboats had not to lament a single man.

This year also the Chinese had thrown some booms across the river, though of a less ponderous construction than those of the preceding year. They had likewise again studded the channel with iron stakes; but, now that the forts were mastered, it was easy to destroy the boom and draw the stakes. And on the 23rd, Admiral Hope, in the *Coromandel*, with a squadron of gunboats, pushed on to Tientsin. That city surrendered at the first summons, and was taken possession of by some troops which were landed from the gunboats; and the work of the fleet was nearly over. The only aid now required from it was, after the Generals had decided on advancing to Peking, to provide boats for the conveyance of the military stores. The Admiral entrusted the service to Captain R. Dew: under the superintendence of that most enterprising officer, every difficulty was surmounted; and, though in many places the river was only eighteen inches deep, the whole of the stores, provisions, baggage, and the heavy siege-train, were safely conveyed to Peking without a single accident. The remaining events of the campaign, the overthrow of the Chinese at Changkiawan and Palecheaou, the fraudulent negotiations by which they endeavoured to avert those defeats, and the treachery and cruelty with which they avenged them on the few unhappy men who fell into their hands, and the chastisement inflicted on the Emperor, need not be related here. It is sufficient to say that the Peking Government was at last more thoroughly humbled than ever; that, on the 24th of October, Lord Elgin, at Peking, concluded a second treaty in ratification of that which had been signed two years before; and that at the beginning of the ensuing month the allied army fell back towards the coast, and, with the exception of a

small garrison which was left at Tientsin, returned to Hong Kong before the winter.

But the conclusion of peace with the Empire did not bring with it an entire cessation of labour to the whole of the allied force; though, as the operations in which the allies presently found themselves involved cannot be said to be concluded, we must be contented for the present to give only the briefest outline of them. The rebels who three years before had fired upon our ships at Nankin, were still ravaging the central provinces; and our Plenipotentiary had agreed not to require the performance of that part of the treaty which provided for the opening to our trade of the ports on the Yang-tse-kiang till the rebellion should have been put down. One effect of such a clause, as had probably been anticipated by the Chinese diplomatists, was to make us desirous to lend our assistance to bring about a settlement of the troubles which were tearing the Chinese empire to pieces; and at first Lord Elgin hoped that some arrangement might have been effected between ourselves and the rebels, which might draw after it a general pacification. But though at first the rebels appeared inclined to make terms with us, their increasing successes gradually led them to actions towards us inconsistent with their peaceful professions. In the autumn of 1861 they succeeded in making themselves masters of Ningpo, and laid siege to Shanghai, a place which, as one of the ports to be opened to us, they had agreed to forbear approaching. The principal Chinese force which could be brought to oppose them, consisted of a few hundred men, who had been organised and drilled into a tolerable state of efficiency by Colonel Ward, an American. General Staveley, at the beginning of 1862, also brought a small body of English troops; and these two officers concerted measures with Sir James Hope,\* and Admiral

\* The Admiral had received the ribbon of the Bath in the preceding year.

Protêt, who had succeeded Admiral Charner as the Commander of the French squadron, and agreed to unite their forces against the rebels, so as to drive them out of Kouchou, a town near Woosung. The attack was made on the 21st of February, 1862. Ward's men were driven back; but a brigade of British and French seamen and marines speedily came up to their support routed the rebels, and took the place. A week afterwards Hope himself headed an attack on another place called Seadong, up the Wonghoo River, and carried it; and for some weeks operations on a small scale were carried on against the rebels with unvaried success, though on one occasion our Admiral, in attempting to rally Ward's men who had fallen into confusion, received a severe wound from a musket-ball in the leg.

Every success, however, drew after it the necessity of another. Hitherto the rebels had avoided as much as possible adopting offensive operations against us; but as we pushed on our advance in different directions, they naturally became more hostile to us. In the middle of April we advanced against a town called Kading, which they had supposed to be perfectly safe from any attack by our boats, since the only approach to it lay up a creek, which, at all times shallow, had been lately filled up in many places, and, as they believed, had been rendered altogether impassable. But Hope collected a number of flat-bottomed boats at Shanghai to transport stores and guns for a small force; dug out the creek to a depth sufficient to float the boats at high water; and, on May 1st, Kading was stormed, and a great quantity of provisions belonging to the rebels, and of the plunder which they had collected from the various towns that they had captured, fell into our possession. Exasperated at this loss, they now resolved on open warfare with us and our French allies; and, on the 10th of May, their garrison at Ningpo fired on the British Kestrel, Lieutenant Huxham,

and on two French vessels, the *Etoile* and *Confucius*, which were passing up the river within reach of their guns. Captain R. Dew, of the *Encounter*, was at this time the senior officer in the river. He at once stood in, and with her the gunboats *Kestrel*, Lieutenant Bevan, *Ringdove*, Commander Craigie, Hardy, Lieutenant Bogle, and the French vessels, opened a heavy fire of shot and shell on the offending batteries. The rebels replied with vigour; but by midday he had silenced their batteries, had knocked down the battlements, and had exposed the top of the wall, so that it could be easily scaled. Then, after giving the men an hour for dinner, he landed a party of marines under one of his midshipmen, Mr. A. Douglas, who established himself in a house which commanded the wall: and presently, in company with a few French seamen and marines, under Lieutenant Kenney, scaled the rampart, and forced his way into the town. Dew himself landed and seized the eastern gate; and sent the Hardy and *Kestrel*, which were joined by the *Confucius*, against a bridge of boats which lay across the stream and barred the passage up the river. It was defended by some heavy guns; but the boats quickly steamed up alongside. Lieutenant Huxham sprung on the bridge, and spiked them with his own hand. Mr. Leach, assistant-engineer of the *Kestrel*, cut the chains, the bridge parted asunder, and the three vessels passed through, and began shelling the southern and western gates. Commander Craigie at the same time landed, scaled the walls by the north gate, and seized that entrance; and the rebels were only too glad to escape by those which we had not yet mastered. Captain Dew disembarked the Chinese Imperial troops, and, having replaced them in possession of the city, the allies retired to their ships.

The combined Admirals now sent a squadron of gunboats up the *Wonghoo*, which ascended the creeks on both

sides : one division stormed Tsingpoo on the northern side ; another, led by Captain Willes, and accompanied by a land-force under General Staveland, within ten days after the fall of Ningpo, carried Najaor and Cholin. At Najaor a chance-shot killed the French Admiral Protêt, a gallant officer who had at all times co-operated with Hope with the most cordial frankness, and who was almost as much regretted by his British allies as by his own comrades. At Cholin the rebels made a stouter resistance ; venturing on one well-planned and boldly executed sally, the brunt of which fell chiefly on a body of our marines under Captain Holland, who, after a fierce though short struggle, drove them back into the city, which their defeat rendered incapable of further resistance. In spite of these repeated defeats, the rebels increased daily in numbers and audacity : but in the operations of the latter part of the year the fleet had no share ; and in the autumn Sir James Hope, whose period of command had expired, gave up the command to Rear-Admiral Kuper, and returned to England. He had not, indeed, had the unchequered success of his predecessor ; but, if he had met with one severe disaster, the way in which he had retrieved it was fraught to the Chinese with a deeper discouragement than most unvaried triumph : for he had shown them that, though they might by surprise take us for a moment at disadvantage, no victory which they could gain could shake the courage or weaken the real superiority of his own country. Defeated one year, he had in the next brought against them a force to which they could scarcely offer the very briefest resistance. He had opened a way for the army of ourselves and our allies to their very capital : and they might well doubt whether a success such as they had gained in 1859 was a subject of congratulation, when it was to be followed by so heavy and so speedy a retribution.

Thus has it been attempted to give an outline of the principal exploits of the British navy; of the services of that ceaseless succession of heroes, extending to the present day, who have made that navy what it is; rendering us unassailable at home, and carrying our victorious flag into the most distant corners of the earth. To recall to memory the virtues and glories of our great countrymen; to learn lessons of courage, fortitude, and patriotism, from their bright examples, can never be an unprofitable employment. But there are those who believe that another lesson which the study of bygone events is usually calculated to impart, the perceptions, namely, of what may be done in future, through the recollection of what has been done in times past, is in the case of naval operations greatly, if not wholly, neutralised by the alterations which modern inventions have introduced, and are still introducing, into the science of warfare, and also into that of naval architecture. There are those who fancy that steam has already done much, that the adoption of iron armour, combined with the vastly extended range and power of modern artillery, is doing more to put on an equality with us nations which have hitherto contentedly acknowledged our maritime superiority. In fact, that a new era in naval affairs is being inaugurated, in which the conditions which have hitherto given the British sailor his pre-eminence will no longer exist. There seems no real ground for such an apprehension. In former days many anticipated that the introduction of gunpowder would place the hosts of other nations on an equality with the British armies, and would put an end to the unbroken series of victories with which, in the days of chivalry, our gallant knights and hardy yeomen had borne down all enemies, and had forced their triumphant way from the Channel to the Pyrenees. The

expectation has not been realized. The history of the present century has abundantly proved the soldiers of George and of Victoria as invincible as those of Edward and of Henry; and has shown that the might of a British army depends not on any accident of weapons, but on the inborn spirit of the nation; on the ever-lively courage, the sturdy fortitude, the unyielding resolution of the whole people.

But these high qualities are not more available on land than on sea; in the camp than in the fleet. And in the latter they are further fortified by that peculiar bias in favour of maritime pursuits which is confessedly shared by no other nation, but which every circumstance of our condition, our vast commerce, our boundless colonial empire, still more the sense that to the sea we owe our safety and independence, that it is not only our glory but our bulwark, contributes to cherish and to strengthen. Judiciously fostered by the wisdom of our rulers of every party, and by the marked favour of the Sovereign, that feeling, it is certain, is still as strong and as exclusively our own as ever.

And to that, under Heaven, we may still trust to maintain the pre-eminence of our navy. Our wooden walls may give way to iron plates, our tapering masts to unsightly funnels; but innovations such as these will neither diminish the proud fond confidence with which every Briton looks on the sea as his peculiar element, nor will it inspire the inhabitants of any other country with that feeling. While our men remain unchanged; while, under their free Constitution and equal laws, their country remains unchanged, the best worth labouring for, and, should need be, the best worth fighting for of any country in the world; above all, while with that deep love of peace and justice which is never so strong as in the bravest, they are careful, as with few exceptions

they have been, never to draw the sword, save in a righteous cause, we may well believe that the British sailor will continue to prove, as for ages he has proved, in the friendly rivalries of peace, as in the deadly shock of war, alike unequalled and irresistible.



## APPENDIX.

---

### I.

REPORTS of COMMODORE WISE to REAR-ADMIRAL the HON. SIR  
F. W. GREY, K.C.B., Commander-in-Chief, on the capabilities  
of the West Coast of Africa for the growth of Cotton.

“Vesuvius, at St. Paul’s de Loanda,  
18th May, 1858.

“SIR,

“In compliance with instructions from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty which have been promulgated amongst H.M. cruisers on the West Coast of Africa, directing that inquiry should be made regarding the growth of cotton within the limits of this station, I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of their Lordships, with the particulars I have collected on the subject from time to time.

“In the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone and to the northward, especially up the rivers inland, cotton grows in profusion. I have observed it growing wild about the settlement of Sierra Leone, and believe that even there a considerable supply might be obtained.

“I beg to submit the following extract from a letter I received from Mr. Campbell; but first have to state that the sovereignty of the locality referred to is claimed by Portugal, which claim, I believe, is disputed by H.M. Government.

“The country alluded to is the whole of the Bijouga Islands, including the Island of Bulama and the country adjacent to it, which the Portuguese Governor of Bissas affirms has been purchased from the natives. . . . .

“The following is an extract from Mr. Campbell’s report with regard to cotton :—‘I have further the honour to acquaint you that, in compliance with Commodore Wise’s inquiries of the 12th of November, 1857, respecting the growth of cotton, I find from

Mr. Lawrence\* that in all the Bijouga country it grows very rapidly, plants bearing large quantities of fruit the first year from the seed, and he says that if required he would engage in a few years to produce almost any quantity.' I enclose a sample of the cotton growing all over the above named places, which was gathered by Mr. Campbell; it is of the Sea Island variety, and the best known kind for Africa.

"The following is an extract from a letter I received from Commodore Hickley of the Childers, senior officer on the north coast, on the same subject as Mr. Campbell's report:—'The spot Bassessama, on which Mr. Lawrence is reported to have flown his flag, and which the Portuguese Governor of Bissas is reported to have caused to be struck, is called Nalon Point on the chart, and is situated on what I believe is improperly called Monteri Island, it being the mainland. Mr. Lawrence is a mulatto; his grandfather was an Englishman. Supposing his personal title to the land claimed quite lawful; whether that establishes the property as English ground or not, is a question. Another question is, whether or not, under any circumstances, the Governor of Bissas is justified in causing the English flag to be struck. This may possibly become of some importance should the report of the suitability of the surrounding country for cotton be deemed worthy of notice by H.M. Government. The two great requisites for the produce of the finest kind of cotton, "Sea Island," certainly exist; viz., sea-air and periodical inundation by rains. Mr. Lawrence's assertion that any quantity could be produced is cheering; but I should think must refer more to what the country would do, than to what the inhabitants would get out of it: still, at present they produce quantities of ground-nuts, and there is no reason why time should not open their eyes to the advantage of cotton growing. Mr. Lawrence on his own ground could produce a good quantity on short notice, should it be ordered of him as an experiment (I suppose he would ask to be secured against heavy loss), as he has his labourers in hand, besides having much general influence among the neighbouring natives, who, by the way, are not, from all accounts, the most tractable. On the whole, I cannot help thinking that if there be any serious intention of setting to

\* Mr. Lawrence was a British subject long resident at Bassessama, and highly esteemed by the chiefs of that and the adjacent districts with which he carries on an extensive trade.

work at cotton growing (or its encouragement) on the part of H.M. Government, there scarcely could be found a more promising field for a beginning than about Rio Grande, or Bolala, and the Bijouga Islands; at any rate, it would seem worth while for some person skilled in the matter to have a look at the texture of the cotton, and the capability of the country for its produce. It seems very unfortunate that the Portuguese notions of trade are so very decidedly opposed to "Free." It would render very necessary some settlement of all claims and counter claims of different territories in the above-named parts before any trade could flourish.'

"On the 17th of January last, when at Mouravia, I had an interview with Mr. L. A. Benson, the President of the Republic of Liberia, and made inquiries regarding the growth of cotton. He states that in the whole Liberian territory, extending from Sherbar to the River Pedro, and for fifty miles inland, cotton grows in profusion, and of a capital quality; but he informs me that to enter into the cotton trade at Mouravia requires money, which the settlers have not got; and further declares, that if the Manchester merchants embarked in the scheme, and obtained competent individuals with a little capital to form plantations, cotton might soon be cultivated and exported to a very large extent. He proposes that there should be a system of apprenticeships; that a number of domestic slaves should be hired for the plantations, under an agreement with the native chiefs, to keep up a certain supply of labourers, receiving a due remuneration for the same.

"Throughout the Bights of Benin cotton grows in wild and uncultivated profusion. It is made little further use of than for making the country cloths, the greater portion of the pods being allowed to fall off and rot.

"I consider it needless to enter into the production of cotton at Abbeokuta and Lagos, as the subject is now being brought before H.M. Government by H.M. Consul for the Bight of Benin. The export of cotton from Lagos in the year 1859 amounted to 114,848 lbs., equal in value to 3590*l.* sterling.

"Mr. Consul Hutchinson, H.M. Consul for the Bight of Benin, states that the districts inland from the mouths of the Bonny, Niger, Old Calabar, and Cameroon rivers, are as eligible for the cultivation of cotton as any locality in the Yoruba Kingdom.

"On the south coast the cotton is discovered equally plentiful as in the other divisions of the station: it grows up the River Congo and inland in great profusion.

"I have this day had an interview with E. Gabriel, Esq., H.M. Commissioner at St. Paul's de Loanda, and was informed by him that he has reported to Lord Clarendon his firm belief that cotton might be cultivated to any extent in the Portuguese possession in that part of Africa, sufficient to supply every country in Europe.

"Cotton grows spontaneously in the whole province of Angola, especially near the rivers Quansa, Bengo, and Dande, and the soil and climate are reported to be particularly favourable to its production. Immense quantities can be procured from the natives inland, in exchange for Manchester goods; and by distributing seed, and establishing English agents at Loanda to form depôts for cotton and prepare it by machinery for shipping, there is no doubt but that the supply received would exceed all expectations.

"Messrs. Oliviera and Schut, merchants of Loanda, state that they are ready to act as agents to distribute the seed and form depôts for the cotton.

"Mr. Gabriel appears to think, if the good effects sure to result from encouraging the natives in cultivating this useful article were brought home to the Portuguese Government, they would be induced to remit the duties at present charged on it as an agricultural produce, and also the transit duties on its conveyance from the places of growth to the port of shipment.

"That the country of Africa is admirably suited for the cultivation of cotton, and capable of supplying the whole world, cannot be doubted; the great difficulty being the extreme indolence and want of enterprise on the part of the natives, and the ills incidental to the slave-trade.

"I have, &c.,

"(Signed) CHARLES WISE,

"Commodore, &c., &c.

"To Rear-Admiral the Hon. Sir F. W. Grey, K.C.B.,  
Commander-in-Chief."

"Vesuvius, at sea, Lat.  $15^{\circ} 15'$ , s., long.  $5^{\circ} 15'$ ,  
4th June, 1858.

"SIR,

"Referring to my former communication to you of the 18th of May, on the subject of the production of cotton on the West Coast of Africa, I have the honour to acquaint you that I have since anchored at a place called Equimina, situated about three miles north of Elephant Bay, and visited a Portuguese named Senor Squacio, once a noted slave-dealer; he has, however, given his attention to agriculture, and possesses a plantation of a considerable size, upon which he is cultivating the sugar-cane and many other articles. I observed cotton growing uncultivated over his grounds, and enclose a sample of its quality.

"Senor Squacio would doubtless be induced to form a plantation of cotton if he was assured of its eventually proving remunerative. The soil is well suited for the cotton-plant, and he has two hundred and forty domestic slaves at his disposal in the shape of labourers.

"At Little Fish Bay, in close proximity to the river, is situated a valley cultivated for twenty miles inland from the sea-beach. The country is remarkably fertile, and appears to be well and carefully cultivated by the numerous Portuguese residents, who have large plantations in their possession all through the valley. At present the chief articles of agricultural produce appear to be the sugar-cane, Indian corn, potatoes, and cassada. The planters are also erecting machinery for making sugar and rum.

"No country could be better adapted for cotton, on account of there being a good soil and capital irrigation from the river, which runs throughout the valley. The hedge-rows were chiefly formed of the cotton-plant, which, as usual, was growing wild, and in great profusion. I enclose a specimen of the fruit.

"I think, by the assistance of an agent from Manchester, a large quantity of cotton might be procured from the natives inland, and the quality improved by distributing good seed.

"There are also large portions of fertile land still unoccupied, which I imagine might be converted into good cotton-plantations, and thus be the means of inducing the Portuguese to turn their attention to the cultivation of the cotton-plant.

"The climate of Little Fish Bay is most temperate and healthy, fever being unknown. The natives are in a low state of civilization, but harmless and tractable.

"I have, &c.,

"(Signed) CHARLES WISE,

"Commodore, &c., &c.

"To Rear-Admiral the Hon. Sir F. W. Grey, K.C.B.,

"Commander-in-Chief."

## II.

### LETTERS from SIR W. PEELE to SIR M. SEYMOUR.

"Camp, Oonao, 23rd February, 1858.

"MY DEAR ADMIRAL,

"I received yesterday your letter of the 14th January, and am truly grateful to you for your warm appreciation of our services here. We heard with delight of the brilliant storming of Canton, and the capture of Yeh, which must have made your success complete. I ceased writing to you officially of our movements from the time of my joining headquarters as I acted so immediately under Sir Colin's orders, that I felt they would be best reported in his despatches. My brigade has always been much scattered, and never all together, except at first for a few days at Allahabad. I am now, however, with the exception of two guns and forty men, under Lieutenant Wilson, who are at the Bunnee Bridge. We are united, and muster 400 officers and men. Our total strength will be seen by the accompanying 'States.' From the admirable spirit which pervades the brigade, the very superior class of officers which the Admiralty appointed to the Shannon, and from our good fortune in battle, we have arrived at a state of efficiency which often surprises me. Our artillery consists of six 55 cwt. 8-inch guns, two 8-inch howitzers, eight 50 cwt. 24-pounders, two ship field-pieces, and a battery of eight rockets. It is the most formidable field-artillery the world has seen, for it is a truth, and not a jest, that in battle we are with the skirmishers; and it is not from any foolish boasting, but from a proper estimate of ourselves and the enemy that I prefer the open ground, and avoid the confinement of a regularly constructed battery. The 68-pounders, or to speak

technically, the 8-inch guns of the Shannon are as light in exercise as the 24-pounders. During our stay at Futtyghur our carpenters were employed in making field-carriages for them from the stores of that arsenal. The materials are of the same scantling as for the 24-pounders, and have abundant strength. The guns, to my eye, sit better on their carriages than the 24-pounders. I have with me in my own park 100 rounds of ammunition for each gun, and all the ammunition for the battery of the six 68-pounders is carried in twenty carts, with a maximum load of 20 cwt. The transport, therefore, of ammunition for heavy ordnance offers no difficulty. It is usual to carry in the reserve park 1000 rounds a gun; but, with heavy ordnance and our wonderful precision of firing, 500 rounds is more than ample. I am dwelling on this field-artillery, not with reference to the approaching contest at Lucknow, but because I wish to see it permanently established both here and in England. In India it would decide the fate of any campaign, and in England be of more value than any fixed batteries of defence. The Royal Artillery would doubtless be little disposed to yield us a share in either India or England, but the superiority of seamen in working these heavy guns is most conspicuous. You will not fail to have observed the long inaction of our troops since the battle of the 5th of December, as, with the exception of a slow march to Futtyghur and the capture of that place, little has apparently been done. I am afraid this inaction has been forced on us by political reasons, which required the combination of our forces with those of Jung Bahadoor for the attack of Lucknow. But Jung Bahadoor has failed to keep time in his engagements, and the delay involves serious consequences.

"I always contemplated that the Shannon's brigade should return on board at the approach of the hot weather, and I mentioned the first week of March as the date when they should be assembled at Benares. I do not now expect that they can be there before the 1st of April. The hot weather sets in about the middle of March; it is decidedly healthy, however disagreeable, till the end of May. I mention Benares as the point of assembly, as the choice there lies between river-navigation or marching by the Grand Trunk Road. I believe the latter to be decidedly preferable. At this period of the year the river is at its lowest. I shall not, therefore, hesitate if I do not receive your instructions in time, to leave the ten heavy guns of the

Shannon, and the large quantities of stores that I brought up with me.

"I presume that all will go well at Lucknow. I feel sure you will never wish us to leave whilst Sir Colin Campbell requires us.

"I am, Admiral,

"Yours very truly,

"WILLIAM PHEL."

---

"Camp, Dilkoosha, 7th March, 1858.

"MY DEAR ADMIRAL,

"We took this place on the 2nd with little loss. Dilkoosha is a lofty solid Italian chateau in a beautiful elevated park, the grounds of which are to Lucknow what Hampstead is to London. The Gomtee flows below through beautiful meadows, and resembles the quiet Trent. The enemy hold the Martinière, a handsome and very extensive building immediately below the Dilkoosha, but the position is not for a moment tenable when we assume the offensive. Their line of defence is distinctly visible; it runs from Banks House by the canal to a village near the Goomtee, and consists of a formidable earthwork, with numerous petty semicircular projections. But it is not laid out with the bold redans and large salient bastions that the Russians would indulge in. They have other interior defences, and the task before us is formidable enough. We have remained content with the occupation of the Dilkoosha, until General Outram, with a right wing of Sir Colin's army, shall have taken up a position at the Race-course on the other side of the Goomtees. We are also waiting for Jung Bahadoor, whose alliance I should think troublesome enough. In the meanwhile the sun is becoming very powerful; the troops, however, are extremely healthy, and I should attribute the cause in a great measure to the disagreeably dry wind which raised before them clouds of dust that effectually cover all decaying matter or filth. I feel that Sir Colin Campbell has a difficult, anxious task. To my mind the cause of uneasiness is the sight of huge piles of gabions and fascines. The attack of Lucknow must never subside into a siege or into the hands of professionals. The enemy can fight their guns well when they are under no apprehension



of immediate assault. Sir Colin Campbell was explaining to me his position and plans, as he has throughout treated me with the greatest confidence, and then stepping on one side he called me up and said, 'What are your own intentions after the taking of Lucknow? You talk of returning on board!' I replied that had always been my wish and intention, that I had always expressed it in my letters to the Admiral, and that in fact I was under orders to do so. He said he might have to make a summer campaign, that in England they were anxious at sending more regiments away, and that he might want us to stay. I replied that if we were wanted by him, I was sure you would never wish me to come away, and that I should feel it my duty to act entirely according to his wishes. His last words were, 'Well, if I do, you shall see that it is desirable.' I do not know, Admiral, if you are personally acquainted with the General. He is so truthful and so unselfish; far too much so for his temporary fame, that I am sure you would wish me to be guided by his wants. Every other consideration would induce me to leave India as soon as possible. I did wish, and fully expect in this week, to have been *en route* from Benares. A policy, the wisdom or the justice of which I cannot see, is driving 5000 men to despair; we lost the cold weather in collecting the means and troops that are required for fighting such a body of men under such circumstances, and we are staking an empire on the issue. I do not doubt the result, but it will be far inferior to what might have been gained by other means than fire and the sword.

"The Shannon's brigade are all here, and in higher efficiency than ever; we are thorough men-of-war's men, there being no departure whatever from the dress and custom of the service. We muster 430 officers and men; of whom only seven are sick, and they not severely so. Two of our men were killed on the day of taking this place. We are generally very fortunate, and I feel much their loss. Pray give my kind respects to Lord Elgin and his suite, and hoping you are quite well,

"I am, dear Admiral,

"Yours very truly,

"WILLIAM PEELE.

"These Sepoys and Budmoohes run away like deer in the open, but turn at bay like wild beasts; and there are many

civilians, and others ignorant of human nature, who would hound us on like wild beasts to their destruction."

---

"Lucknow, 11th April, 1858.

"MY DEAR ADMIRAL,

"The Shannon's brigade is returning to Calcutta under charge of Lieutenant (now Commander) Vaughan, and on its arrival will sail for China. I was severely wounded in the thigh on the 9th of last month at the very commencement of the attack on Lucknow. The strength of the brigade on going into action was 431 officers and men, and the casualties were sixteen; of whom five were killed, or have since died of their wounds. I felt particularly glad that Captain Dawson, than whom no one is more distinguished in the noble 93rd, should have escaped unhurt.

"I attempted to write to you a few days after being wounded, but a fever put me into such excitement that I was obliged to relinquish it. Sir Colin Campbell seemed loth to part with the brigade, and the final decision for their return was communicated to me on the 7th inst. They had left some few days previously for Cawnpore, and some portion of them were to join an expedition under General Inglis to destroy a fort near the road from which our communications had long been threatened. It was completely successful.

"On being wounded I placed myself in charge of the Field Hospital surgeons, and a medical board has ordered my return to England. Being unwilling, however, to give up the Shannon, and anxious to serve my time, I shall decide, or ask the medical men to decide again, on my arrival at Calcutta. The change of air and excitement of moving may restore me to health.

"I am most anxious to hear of peace in China, and think it may well come after the very brilliant capture of Canton. Please give my kind respects to Lord Elgin.

"I hope, Admiral, that you keep in good health, and that all goes well. I shall ever remember the generous approval that you gave me throughout, and before the very wonderful success that attended the brigade, had in itself almost justified our proceedings. The Shannon's 56 cwt. 8-inch guns were terribly

effective against Lucknow, and I trust that the results attending the employment of such guns as *field artillery*, will not be lost in England. My honoured friend, Admiral de Genouilly, on reading the addresses of the belligerent Colonels, must have frequently studied the geography of Manilla. Please give him my sincere respects.

“I am, Admiral,

“Yours very sincerely,

“WILLIAM PEELE.”

## INDEX.

ABDUL.

BATH.

## A.

- Abdul Medjid, succeeds as Sultan, ii. 230.  
 Abercromby, Gen. Sir R. A., ii. 166.  
 Achmuty, Sir S., at Java, ii. 470.  
 Adam, Capt., ii. 214.  
 Airey, Col., ii. 198.  
 Alberoni, Cardinal, Prime Minister of Spain, i. 170; sends out a fleet to act against the Emperor, 171; a second to attack Sicily, 172; is banished, 173.  
 Alexander, Capt., in Burmah, iii. 177.  
 Alfred defeats Guthrum, i. 3; builds a fleet, *ib.*; first naval victory gained in his reign, *ib.*; sends an expedition to the Indian seas, 4.  
 Alfric deserts to the Danes, i. 5.  
 Algiers, war upon, in James I.'s reign, i. 52; submits to Blake, 81; attacked by Sandwich, 87; chastised by Spragge, 97, 98; by Lord Exmouth, iii. 144.  
 Allen, Sir T., defeats a French squadron, i. 94.  
 Andrews, Capt., of the *Defiance*, i. 234.  
 Andrew, Capt., in Mediterranean, ii. 494.  
 Anne comes to the throne, i. 126; adheres to William's policy, *ib.*; dies, 168.  
 Anson, Lord, his voyage round the world, 184, seq.; burns *Paita*, 189; takes the *Acapulco* galleon, 195; returns to England, 196; defeats the French off Cape Finisterre, ii. 221; is made peer, 222; off Brest, 264.  
 Antonio, Don, attempts to recover the Portuguese throne, i. 44.  
 Appelby, Lieut., court-martial on, i. 364.  
 Arbuthnot, Admiral, on North American coast, i. 373.  
 Arbuthnot, Mr., ii. 370.  
 Armada, Spanish, i. 32, seq.  
 Aashby, Sir J., is knighted for Bantry Bay, i. 108, 110; at *La Hogue*, 114.  
 Athelstan encourages the navy, i. 4.  
 Atkins, Capt., death of, ii. 491.  
 Austen, Commander in the *Arctic Seas*, iii. 91; in the *Parana*, 199.

- Austen, Capt., in Syria, iii. 242, 244.  
 Austin, Rear-Admiral, commanding in India, iii. 181.  
 Ayscough, Sir G., repels Van Tromp and De Ruyter, 63; is superseded by Blake, *ib.*; is knighted for his services at the Restoration, 87; taken by the Dutch, 93.

## B.

- Back, Capt., in *Arctic Seas*, iii. 86.  
 Bainbridge, Lieut., death of, ii. 162.  
 Baird, Gen. Sir D., ii. 367.  
 Baker, Capt., captures French frigate *Didon*, ii. 349.  
 Baker, Mr., Steam Inspector, iii. 337.  
 Balchen, Admiral, sails against the Spaniards, i. 198; sent against Admiral Rochambeau, 217; is lost in a storm, 218.  
 Ball, Capt. A., ii. 74, 76, 118, 303.  
 Ball, Blake's captain, killed in battle, i. 70.  
 Balleny, Mr., in South Seas, iii. 81.  
 Bandeira, Admiral (Austrian), at Acre, iii. 247.  
 Banks, Mr. J., i. 307.  
 Baraguay d'Hilliers, Gen. in command of the French force, iii.  
 Barclay, Commodore, on Lake Erie, iii. 24.  
 Barker, Capt., in China, iii. 460.  
 Barker, Midshipman, killed in China, iii. 441.  
 Barlow, Capt. R., fired on at Brest, i. 410; captures *L'Africaine*, ii. 213.  
 Barnard, Lieut., R.M.A., in the *Parana*, iii. 200.  
 Barnett, Commodore, defeats a French squadron in East Indies, i. 219.  
 Barnett, Capt., fires on a French ship, i. 199.  
 Barrie, Capt., blockades the Chesapeake, iii. 30.  
 Barrington, Admiral, co-operates with Gen. Grant, i. 338; attacks French fleet, 340; commands Channel fleet, 387.  
 Barton, Capt. R., ii. 194.  
 Bate, Capt., in China, iii. 418 et passim.

## BATEMAN.

- Bateman, Capt., court-martial on, i. 364.  
 Batten, Admiral, fires on the Queen's House, i. 58.  
 Bayntun, Capt., ii. 279; at Trafalgar, 811.  
 Beaumont, Capt., blockades De Pontis at Dunkirk, i. 130.  
 Beaver, Capt., i.  
 Beckwith, Gen., ii. 438.  
 Bedford, Duke of, defeats French fleet off Harfleur, i. 18.  
 Belcher, Sir E., expedition in search of Franklin, iii. 99; in China, 389.  
 Bellamy, Capt., in Mediterranean, ii. 501.  
 Benbow, Admiral, bombards St. Malo, i. 118; watches Dunkirk, 122; goes to the West Indies, 123; attacks Du Casse, but is betrayed by his captains, 131; dies, 133.  
 Bennett, Capt., ii. 405.  
 Bennett, Commander, at Porto Novo, iii. 820.  
 Bergeret, Capt. (French), gallantry of, ii. 349.  
 Berkeley, Lord, fails at Brest, i. 119; burns Dieppe, 120; bombards Havre, *ib.*  
 Berry, Capt. Sir E., at St. Vincent, ii. 8; takes the Guillaume Tell, 159; at Trafalgar ii. 304.  
 Bertie, Capt. T., at Copenhagen, ii. 177.  
 Bertie, Admiral A., at the Cape, ii. 461.  
 Berwick, Duke of, defeats Lord Galway at Almanza, i. 149.  
 Bethune, Capt., in China, iii. 386.  
 Bickerton, Capt. Sir R., ii. 69, 281.  
 Bignell, Lieut., iii. 26.  
 Bingham, Capt., off the Chesapeake, iii. 2.  
 Blackwood, Capt., afterwards Sir H., in the Brilliant, ii. 57; in the Penelope, 159; at Trafalgar, 817; in the Ajax, 877.  
 Blackwood, Capt., Hon. P., in China, iii. 385.  
 Blake, Lieut., in China, iii. 437.  
 Blake, appointed Admiral by the Parliament, i. 59; pursues Rupert to Ireland, 60; takes Guernsey, etc., 61; defeats Van Tromp, 62; pursues De Ruyter to the Dutch shores, 64; takes the Duke de Vendôme, 65; defeated by Van Tromp, 66; defeats Van Tromp off La Hogue, 69; defeats Van Tromp, 74; proceeds against the African pirates, 79; his conduct at Malaga, 82; proceeds to Cadiz, 83; destroys the fleets at Santa Cruz, 85; dies, 86.  
 Blackeney, Gen., Governor of Minorca, i. 237.

## BRITONS.

- Bland, Commander S., gallant exploit of, ii. 111.  
 Bligh, Capt., at Copenhagen, ii. 177; at Aix, 427.  
 Bligh, Capt., voyage of discovery, i. 403.  
 Bligh, Capt., i. 450.  
 Blythe, Lieut., in the Baltic, ii. 488.  
 Bodley, Commodore, defeats Van Galen, i. 65; is made Rear-Admiral, 77.  
 Bogle, Lieut., in China, iii. 487.  
 Bois de la Mothe, Admiral, defeated by Commander Fox, i. 224; is sent to West Indies, 234.  
 Bolton, Capt., ii. 383.  
 Boniface, Pope, mediates between France and England, i. 12.  
 Boecawen, Admiral, serves under Sir J. Norris, i. 206; succeeds Griffin in East Indies, 227; fails in an attempt on Pondicherry, 228; is sent to West Indies, 234; action off Cape Lagos, 273.  
 Bourboulain, M., French Ambassador to China, iii. 470.  
 Bouchier, Capt., at Amoy, iii. 388, 397.  
 Bourd, Capt., beats off a French squadron, i. 166.  
 Bourne, Lieut., ii. 63.  
 Bourayne, M., gallantry and skill of, ii. 366.  
 Bowen, Capt., takes the Mahonesa, i. 498.  
 Bower, Lieut., in China, iii. 391.  
 Bowring, Sir John, iii. 425.  
 Bowyer, Capt., with Rodney, i. 363.  
 Bowyer, Admiral, joins Lord Howe at Torbay, i. 430.  
 Boxer, Capt., in Syria, iii. 250; in the Black Sea, 277.  
 Boyes, Commodore, exploit of, i. 278.  
 Boyle, Capt., ii. 275.  
 Boyles, Capt. C., ii. 292.  
 Braddock, Gen., is defeated and slain, i. 233.  
 Brahell, Captain (Dutch), breaks the boom across the Medway, i. 96.  
 Bremer, Sir Gordon, Commodore in China, iii. 388 et passim.  
 Brenton, Capt. Sir J., ii. 153, 250; exploit off Naples, 482.  
 Brenton, Commander E., ii. 250.  
 Brereton, Gen., ii. 283.  
 Brest fortified by Vauban, i. 119.  
 Brett, Capt., Anson's first lieutenant, i. 189; attacks Charles Edward's squadron, 218.  
 Bridport, Lord, commands the Channel fleet, i. 475.  
 Brisbane, Sir Jas., in Burmah, iii. 178.  
 Brisbane, Capt., ii. 383.  
 Britons, not originally a maritime people, i. 2; British sailors double the

## BROKE.

- Cape of Good Hope in Alfred's reign, 4.  
 Broke, Capt., iii. 6; captures the Chesapeake, 13.  
 Broughton, Capt., takes the *Velox Passagers*, iii. 208.  
 Broucker, Capt., dismissed by Duke of York, and expelled the House of Commons, i. 90.  
 Brown, Capt., at Martinique, ii. 441.  
 Brown, Sir G., in the Crimea, iii. 385.  
 Brown, Admiral, in command of *Rosas's* squadron, iii. 189.  
 Brown, R. A. (mate), in China, ii. 429.  
 Bruat, Vice-Admiral (French), in the Black Sea, iii. 262, 333.  
 Bruce, Mr., British Minister, in China, iii. 468.  
 Bruce, Capt., afterwards Sir H., takes *Lagos*, iii. 209.  
 Brunow, Baron, Russian Ambassador, in England, iii. 261.  
 Buchan, Lieut., iii. 26; Arctic Voyage, 44.  
 Buckingham, Duke of, favorite of James I., i. 52; Lord High Admiral, 55; quarrels with Louis XIII., 56; is murdered, 57.  
 Buckle, Capt., in Baltic, ii. 280.  
 Buckley, Lieut., in Sea of Azov, iii. 340.  
 Buckner, Admiral, ii. 19.  
 Bullen, Capt., at Trafalgar, ii. 311; in the Mediterranean, 451.  
 Bulwer, Sir H., English Ambassador in Paris, iii. 241.  
 Burgess, Lieut., at Bomarsund, iii. 309.  
 Burgoyne, Sir J., in the Crimea, iii. 262.  
 Burgoyne, Lieut., in Sea of Azov, iii. 338.  
 Burke, Lieut., ii. 166; gallant exploits of, 168; taken prisoner, 169.  
 Burrell, Brigadier, in China, iii. 389.  
 Burridge, Capt., at Petropaulovski, iii. 324.  
 Butt, Lieut., ii. 428.  
 Byard, Capt., ii. 66.  
 Byng, Sir G., is nearly lost off Scilly, i. 152; pursues *De Forbin*, 155; is unable to save *Alicante*, 161; commands in the Downs, 169; is sent into the Mediterranean, 172.  
 Byng, Admiral John, serves under Sir J. Norris, i. 207; a member of the court-martial on Matthews, 213; succeeds Matthews, 217; his vigilance at the time of the Rebellion, 218; is sent to protect *Minorca*, 235; fights *M. de la Galissonière*, 239; abandons *Minorca*, *ib.*; his trial and execution, 241 seq.  
 Byron, Capt. R., in America, iii. 5.  
 Byron, Admiral, his sufferings in the

## CHADS.

- Wager, i. 196; returns to England, 197; captures French squadron, 280; explores the South Seas, 306; joins Howe, 337; attacks French fleet, 340.  
 Bythessea, Lieut., afterwards Commander, in the Baltic, iii. 304; in the Yang-tee-kiang, 462; in the *Peiho*, 470.
- C.
- Cabot, Sir John, employed by Henry VII., i. 19.  
 Caermarthen, Lord, prosecuted by James II., i. 112.  
 Caermarthen, Lord, captain of a frigate, i. 126.  
 Caffin, Capt., at Bomarsund, iii. 306.  
 Calder, Capt., afterwards Sir R., ii. 11; off Ferrol, 283; encounters *Ville-neuve*, 291; court-martial on, 295; returns to Ferrol, 297.  
 Caldwell, Capt., in the Baltic, ii. 351.  
 Campbell, Rear-Admiral, ii. 256.  
 Campbell, Capt., in Mediterranean, ii. 501.  
 Campbell, Col., i. 340.  
 Campbell, Capt., in Burnah, iii. 183.  
 Campbell, Sir A., Commander-in-chief in Burnah, iii. 171.  
 Camperdown, Battle of, ii. 50.  
 Campion, Lieut., in Sea of Azov, iii. 344.  
 Canning, Lord, Governor-General in India, iii. 442.  
 Cannot, Lieut., gallant conduct and death of, ii. 503.  
 Canrobert, Gen., Commander-in-chief of French army, iii. 333.  
 Capel, Capt., ii. 96; at Trafalgar, 312; in America, iii. 36.  
 Capo d'Istria, Count, President of Greece, iii. 232.  
 Carden, Capt., taken prisoner, iii. 8.  
 Carlos, Don, becomes King of Naples, i. 203; becomes King of Spain, 205.  
 Carrington, Lieut., is killed, iii. 298.  
 Carteret, Capt., off Boulogne, ii. 486.  
 Carteret, Sir G., surrenders at Jersey to Blake, i. 60.  
 Carthew, Capt., exploit of, ii. 40.  
 Caskett, Capt., i. 363.  
 Castaneta, Admiral (Spanish), defeated by Byng, i. 172.  
 Cathcart, Capt., off Norway, iii. 9.  
 Cathcart, Lord, ii. 381.  
 Cavendish, a discoverer in the reign of Elizabeth, i. 43.  
 Cay, Lieut., at Porto Novo, iii. 216.  
 Chads, Lieut., afterwards Sir H., at the Mauritius, ii. 455; in Java, iii. 7;

## CHARLES.

- defeats the Malacca pirates, 132; in Burmah, 176; in Baltic, 297; in China, 384.
- Charles, Emperor, dies, i. 125.
- Charles Edward prepares to serve under Marshal Saxe, i. 207; returns to Paris, *ib.*; escapes our squadron with difficulty, 218; lands at Moidart, 219; visits London, 232.
- Charles Frederic, Archduke, at Acre, iii. 242.
- Charles XII., of Sweden, his alliance with William III., i. 123; co-operates with us against Denmark, 124; his fleets begin to insult us, 169; dies, 173.
- Charles II., as Prince of Wales, brings a fleet to the Thames to rescue his father, i. 57; is restored, 86; profiggacy of his reign, 95; becomes a Roman Catholic, and applies to Louis for troops, 99; declares war against Holland, 100.
- Charles, Archduke, claims the Spanish throne, i. 127; becomes Emperor, 165.
- Charles I. marries the Princess Henrietta, i. 55; his fondness for the navy, 57.
- Chaplain, Ensign, in China, iii. 486.
- Charner, Vice-Admiral (French), in the *Peiho*, iii. 480.
- Charnock, his work on marine architecture, i. 142.
- Château Renault, French Admiral, fights battle of Bantrey Bay, i. 108.
- Chatham, Lord, at Walcheren, ii. 431.
- Chatham, Lord, his opposition to the ministry, i. 232; recommends the King to pardon Byng, 244.
- Cherbourg burnt by the English in Edward I.'s reign, i. 12.
- Christie, Capt., in the Black Sea, iii. 284.
- Clarendon, Earl of, his praise of Blake, i. 86.
- Clerke, Capt., i. 332; death of, 333.
- Clinton, Lord, co-operates with his fleet in the battle of Pinky, i. 23.
- Clinton, Gen., i. 335.
- Clive, his gallantry at Pondicherry, i. 229; his generosity, 252.
- Cobham, Lord, takes Vigo, i. 173.
- Cochrane, Lord, on the Spanish coast, ii. 169; off the Azores, 360; takes *La Tapageuse*, 363; zeal and energy of, at Rosas, 405; in Aix Roads, 417.
- Cochrane, Admiral, off Ferrol, ii. 284.
- Cochrane, Admiral, Sir A., ii. 384; off the Chesapeake, iii. 30.

## CORBETT.

- Cochrane, Capt., Hon. A., in the *Baltic*, iii. 294; in China, 430.
- Cockburn, Capt., i. 498; at Walcheren, ii. 431; co-operates with Gen. Lacy, 508; off the American coast, iii. 21.
- Codrington, Capt., afterwards Sir G., at Trafalgar, ii. 312; at Walcheren, 431; co-operates with O'Donnell, 514.
- Codrington, Capt. H., in Syria, iii. 250.
- Coffin, Col., ii. 502.
- Coghlan, Lieut., afterwards Sir J., gallant exploit of, ii. 72; in Mediterranean, 502.
- Cole, Capt., takes Fort Nassau, ii. 468.
- Collier, Sir G., exploit of, i. 343.
- Collier, Admiral Sir G., ii. 509.
- Collier, Capt., in Syria, iii. 242.
- Collingwood, Lord, in the channel fleet, i. 434; at St. Vincent, ii. 6; off Cadiz, 274; off Cape St. Vincent, 298; at Trafalgar, 312; in the *Dardanelles*, 380; destroys the French squadron, 412; death and character, 414.
- Collins, Col., ii. 229.
- Collinson, Capt., Expedition in search of Franklin, iii. 92; his discoveries, 105; in China, 394 *et passim*.
- Colpoys, Admiral, off Ushant, i. 487.
- Columbine, Capt., on the African coast, ii. 438.
- Columbus sends his brother to Henry VII., i. 19.
- Colville, Lord, exploit of, i. 282.
- Commerell, Lieut., afterwards Commodore, in Sea of Azov, iii. 343; in the *Peiho*, 474.
- Coney, Capt., is lost off Scilly, i. 152.
- Conn, Capt., ii. 214, 276; at Trafalgar, 312.
- Conner, Capt., ii. 60.
- Cook, Capt. J., first voyage of discovery, i. 307; takes possession of New Zealand, 313; discovers Botany Bay, *ib.*; arrives at New Guinea, 315; second voyage, 317; last voyage, 325; murdered by the savages, 332.
- Cooke, Capt., ii. 110; captures the French frigate *Porte*, 147; at Trafalgar, 311.
- Coombe, Lieut., gallantry of, ii. 388.
- Coote, Gen. Sir E., ii. 201.
- Coote, Commander R., in America, iii. 36.
- Coote, Commander, at Lagos, iii. 210.
- Copenhagen, battle of, ii. 176.
- Corbet, Lieut., at Lagos, iii. 212; in China, 436.
- Corbett, Capt., ii. 234; off the *Mauritius*, 249; death of, *ib.*

## CORNISH.

- Cornish, Admiral, on Indian station, i. 295; captures Manila, 297.  
 Cornwall, Capt., is killed in Matthew's action, i. 209.  
 Cornwallis, Admiral, gallantry of, i. 474; off Brest, ii. 254.  
 Cornwallis, Capt., in Rodney's action, i. 408.  
 Corry, Rear-Admiral, in the Baltic, iii. 292 et passim.  
 Cotes, Capt., serves under Hawke, i. 225; Commander in West Indies, 260.  
 Cotgrae, Capt., ii. 210.  
 Cotton, Admiral Sir C., ii. 272.  
 Cotton, Admiral Sir C., captures the Russian squadron, ii. 397.  
 Countess, Capt., ii. 64.  
 Craigie, Commander, in China, iii. 467.  
 Crauford, Commander, in Sea of Azov, iii. 347.  
 Crawford, Gen., i. 284.  
 Crawford, James, seaman, gallant conduct of, ii. 52.  
 Cresswell, Lieut., in Arctic Expedition, iii. 99; in China, 159.  
 Cromwell, passes the Act of Navigation, i. 61; expells the Long Parliament, 72; his treacherous attack on Spain, 78; approves Blake's conduct at Malaga, 82; dies, 86.  
 Crossley, Mr., ii. 223.  
 Crossman, Lieut., ii. 428.  
 Crozier, Lieut., in Parry's expedition, iii. 66; in James Ross's Expedition, 72; second in command in Franklin's Expedition, sad fate of, 110.  
 Cumberland, Earl of, takes Puerto Rico, &c., i. 47.  
 Cumberland, Duke of, his evidence against Byng, i. 240.  
 Cumming, Capt., at Copenhagen, ii. 176.  
 Curtis, Admiral Sir Roger, ii. 78.  
 Curtis, Capt., afterwards Sir L., ii., 450.

## D.

- Dacres, Admiral, Commander-in-Chief at Jamaica, ii. 284.  
 Dacres, Capt. made prisoner, iii. 6.  
 D'Albiny, Philip, defeats the French, i. 94.  
 D'Albon succeeds Richards in command at Alicante, i. 162.  
 Dalhousie, Lord, Governor-General of India, iii. 180.  
 Dalrymple, Gen. Sir H., ii. 397.  
 Danes, their invasions of Britain, i. 2; defeated by Alfred, 3; and by Ethelred, 5; become masters of the

## DE LA JONQUIERRE.

- island, 6; reduced to submission by Rooke, 124.  
 D'Anville, Duke, dies of apoplexy, i. 222.  
 Darby, Capt., ii. 78; at the Nile, 87.  
 Darby, Admiral, at Gibraltar, i. 377.  
 Dartmouth, Lord, commands James's fleet, i. 105; refuses to convey the Prince of Wales to France, *ib.*  
 D'Asfeldt, Gen., takes Alicante, i. 162.  
 Davis, a discoverer in the reign of Elizabeth, i. 48.  
 Day, Lieut., in Sea of Azov, iii. 347.  
 Deane, Admiral, under Blake, i. 60; commands troops on board the fleet, 69, 72; is killed, 73.  
 De Cintie, Capt. (French), in Sea of Azov, iii. 352.  
 De Courcy, Capt., ii. 64.  
 De Court, Vice-Admiral. sails from Brest, and joins the Spaniards, i. 208.  
 De Crespigny, Lieut., in Baltic, iii. 368.  
 De Forbin, French Admiral, takes our merchant ships, i. 153; pursued by Byng, 155; baffled by Lord Dursley, 158.  
 De Genouilly, Capt. R., organizes the French naval brigade, iii. 279; in China, 447.  
 De la Galissonière, French Admiral, fights Byng, i. 237; co-operates with the Duke de Richelieu in the reduction of Minorca, 239.  
 De l'Etendeur, Admiral, defeated by Hawke, i. 224.  
 De Martel, French Admiral, distinguishes himself on our side, i. 102.  
 De Pointis, French Admiral, commands in West Indies, i. 122; is blockaded at Dunkirk, 130; blockades Gibraltar, 144; loses his ships, 145.  
 De Ruyter surpercedes Van Tromp, is repelled by Sir G. Ayscough, i. 63; takes English merchantmen, 88; commander-in-chief, 90; defeats Monk, 91; defeated by Rupert, 93; sails up the Thames, 95; destroys Sheerness, 96; is defeated by Spragge, *ib.*; fights the battle of Solebay, 101.  
 Delaval, Sir R., serves under Russell, i. 110.  
 Denman, Commander Hon. J., destroys the barracoons at Gallinas, iii. 306.  
 Descharges, M., invents portholes, i. 21.  
 Deschesnes, Vice-Adm. P. de, (French), commander in the Baltic, iii. 295.  
 De St. George, Admiral, taken prisoner by Anson, i. 223.  
 De la Jonquierre, Admiral, taken prisoner by Anson, i. 223.



## DE TARSIS.

- De Tarsis, Duke de, baffled at Sardinia by Sir J. Norris, i. 164.
- De Tesso, Marshal, operates against Gibraltar, i. 145; fails to recover Barcelona, 148; saves Toulon, 161.
- De Tournelle, French Admiral, fails in an attempt to recover Cape Breton, i. 222.
- De Tourville, French Admiral, defeats Lord Torrington at Beachy Head, i. 109; hovers about the Channel, 110; is defeated by Russell at La Hogue, 118; is given another fleet, 116; takes a squadron of merchantmen, 118; takes refuge in Toulon, 121.
- Devonshire, Capt., at Copenhagen, ii. 179.
- Dew, Commander R., in Baltic, iii. 359; in China, 455.
- De Witt is joined in command with De Ruyter, i. 63; invents chain-shot, 73; joined with De Ruyter in command, 90; his opinion of English valour, 93.
- Dickson, Capt., at Copenhagen, ii. 179.
- Digby, Capt., with Spanish frigates, ii. 152; at Trafalgar, 312.
- Dilkes, Sir J., i. 127; captures French merchantmen, 134; under Rooke, 132; joins Leake, 144; succeeds Shovel as Commander-in-chief, 152.
- Dilkes, Capt., at Copenhagen, ii. 179.
- Dixon, Capt. N., in the Lion, ii. 112; exploit of, 159; at Copenhagen, 179.
- Domett, Capt., at Copenhagen, ii. 179.
- Donovan, Capt., ii. 165.
- Dorville, Lieut., in Burmah, iii. 182.
- Dowell, Lieut., in Baltic, iii. 367.
- Downie, Capt., co-operates with Sir G. Prevost, iii. 22; gallant death of, 29.
- Douglas, Admiral, co-operates with Rollo; takes Dominica, i. 284.
- Douglas, Capt., with Rodney, i. 364.
- Drake, Sir F., at first a slave-trader, then a pirate, i. 24; attacks the Spanish settlements in America, 25; sees the Pacific, *ib.*; sails round the world, 26; attacks Vigo, Hispaniola, visits Virginia, 29; attacks Cadiz and Lisbon, 30; second in command against the Armada, 36, *seq.*; his report of its destruction, 42; burns Corunna, 44; takes Nombre de Dios—*die*, *ib.*
- Drake, Joseph, is killed, i. 25.
- Drake, Admiral, with Rodney, i. 372.
- Draper, Col., i. 295.
- Dromunda, Saladin's ship, is taken by Richard, i. 8.
- Drummond, Capt., at Sebastopol, iii. 260.

## EDWARD III.

- Drury, Admiral, Commander-in-chief in India, ii. 466.
- Drury, Lieut., gallantry of, ii. 389.
- Du Bart, French Admiral, commands Dunkirk fleet, i. 121; eludes Benbow, 122.
- Dubois, Cardinal, joins us in mediating between the empire and Spain, i. 171.
- Du Casse, French Admiral, is attacked by Benbow, i. 131; his escape and his sentiments, 133; in West Indies, 155.
- Duckworth, Capt., afterwards Sir J., in Channel fleet, i. 434; destroys the French squadron off San Domingo, ii. 344; in the Dardanelles, 373.
- Duff, Capt., at Copenhagen, ii. 179; at Trafalgar, 311.
- Duguai Trouin, French Admiral, takes an English squadron, i. 153; baffled by Lord Dursley, 158; defeated by him, 159; takes the Gloucester, 163.
- Duncan, Admiral, i. 292, 481; defeats the Dutch at Camperdown, ii. 54.
- Duncan, Capt. H., off Salerno, ii. 482.
- Dundas, Capt., at Trafalgar, ii. 311.
- Dundas, Vice-Admiral D., Commander-in-chief in the Black Sea, iii. 262.
- Dundas, Rear-Admiral R., commands the Baltic fleet, iii. 356 *et passim*.
- Dupleix, French Governor of Pondicherry, i. 222; is jealous of La Bourdonnais, *ib.*; defends Pondicherry against Boscawen, 228; intrigues with the native princes, 238.
- Durham, Capt., ii. 65; at Trafalgar, 308; Commander of the Leeward Islands, 507.
- Dursley, Lord, nearly lost off Scilly, i. 152; his skill in the Channel, 158; defeats Duguai Trouin, 159; his success in the Channel, 163.
- D'Urville, Mons., Capt., French navy, explores South Seas, iii. 74.

## E.

- Easton, Dr., at Hango, iii. 362.
- Edgecumbe, Capt., is driven from Minorca by M. de la Galissonière, i. 236.
- Edgell, Capt., in China, iii. 440.
- Edmonstone, Capt., takes Porto Novo, iii. 217.
- Edward the Elder, i. 4.
- Edward I. cherishes the navy, i. 10; defeats the French, 11; dies, 12.
- Edward III. defeats French at Sluys, i. 12.

## EDWARD IV.

Edward IV: cherishes the navy, i. 19.  
 Edwards, Capt., with Rodney, i. 364.  
 Egbert consolidates the kingdoms of the Heptarchy into one, i. 2.  
 Elgin, Lord, Ambassador to China, iii. 444; a second time, 472.  
 Elizabeth, her hatred of Philip, i. 25; her coldness to Drake, 31; her parsimony, 32; her ingratitude, 43; dies, 48; her alliance with Henry IV. of France, 106.  
 Elliot, Admiral, Commander-in-chief in China, iii. 388.  
 Elliot, Capt. C., British Commissioner in China, iii. 383; guides the squadron to the Boca Tigris, 390.  
 Elliott, Capt. C., in Castries Bay, iii. 327; in China, 426, &c.  
 Ellis, Capt., off Norway, iii. 9.  
 Ellis, Capt. R.M., in China, iii. 406.  
 Elphinstone, Sir George, captures the Dutch fleet, i. 485.  
 Erskine, Sir James, ii. 138.  
 Escwy, Bishop, commands Ethelred's fleet, i. 5.  
 Essex, Earl of, expedition against Cadiz, i. 46; his failure in the second expedition, 47.  
 Ethelred defeats the Danes, i. 5.  
 Ethelwolf, account of victories in his reign uncertain, i. 2.  
 Evans, Commodore, i. 333.  
 Eveleigh, Capt., gallant death of, ii. 509.  
 Evertz, Dutch Admiral, serving under Russell, i. 120.  
 Evertzen, Admiral, second in command to Van Tromp, i. 67, 73, 89; killed, 92.  
 Eugene, Prince, attacks Toulon, i. 150.  
 Eyre, Capt., at Sante Maura, ii. 447.  
 Eyres, Capt., in China, iii. 406.

## F.

Fairborne, Sir S., nearly lost in a storm, i. 134; takes Ostend, ii. 151.  
 Fairfax, Lieut., on coast of Africa, iii. 325.  
 Falkoner, Capt., i. 362.  
 Fancourt, Capt., at Copenhagen, ii. 179.  
 Fanshawe, Capt., in Rodney's action, i. 385.  
 Fanshawe, Capt., in Baltic, iii. 363.  
 Faulkner, Capt., i. 457.  
 Fellowes, Capt., at Navarino, iii. 331.  
 Felton assassinates the Duke of Buckingham, i. 67.  
 Finnis, Capt., gallant death of, iii. 26.  
 Fisher, Major R.E., in the Feiho, iii. 476.  
 Fisher, Capt., in Syria, iii. 241.

## GARDNER.

Fitzroy, Lord W., in the *Eolus*, ii. 349.  
 Fleet joins the Parliament, i. 58; goes over to the King, *ib.*  
 Fleury, Cardinal, Prime Minister of France, i. 203; dies, *ib.*  
 Flinders, Capt., ii. 220; in Australia, 224; discovers King's Islands, 227; examines Torres Straits, 230; loses his ship, 236; returns to Fort Jackson, 238; prisoner at Fort Lewis, 240; returns to England, 241.  
 Fogg, Capt., Benbow's captain, i. 132.  
 Foley, Capt., afterwards Sir T., ii. 78; at Copenhagen, 179; at night with Nelson, 182.  
 Foote, Capt., ii. 59.  
 Forrest, Capt., i. 261.  
 Forsyth, Capt., in China, iii. 434.  
 Fortescue, Capt., in China, iii. 428.  
 Fowke, Gen., Governor of Gibraltar, i. 236.  
 Fowler, Lieut., in China, iii. 441.  
 Fowler, Lieut., ii. 245.  
 Fox, Commodore, defeats M. de la Mothe, i. 224; disobeys Hawke's orders, and is dismissed his ship, 227.  
 Franklin, Capt., afterwards Sir J., his Land Expedition, iii. 60; Governor of Van Diemen's Land, 76; Arctic Expedition, 84; death of, 109.  
 Fraser, Major-Gen., ii. 379.  
 Fraser, Lieut., E.I.C., in Burmah, iii. 185.  
 Frazer, Lieut., at Rangoon, iii. 172.  
 Frederick, Capt., at St. Vincent, i. 505.  
 Fremantle, Capt., i. 466; at Copenhagen, ii. 179; at Trafalgar, ii. 311; in Mediterranean, 506.  
 Frere, British Minister at Madrid, ii. 260.  
 Frobisher, Sir M., second in command to Drake, i. 23; commands the Triumph against the Armada, 36; takes Brest, 45.  
 Furneaux, Capt., in Cook's Expedition, i. 319.

## G.

Galway, Lord, defeated at Almanza, i. 149.  
 Gambier, Capt., afterwards Lord, in Channel fleet, i. 434; Commander-in-Chief in the Basque Roads, ii. 415.  
 Gardner, Admiral Allan (afterwards Lord), in Channel fleet, i. 433; off Brest, 274; off Cape Clear, 291; at Walcheren, 433.  
 Gardner, Commander A., at Lagos, iii. 314.

## GARDNER.

- Gardner, Capt., ii. 292.  
 Garibaldi in Uruguay, iii. 189.  
 Garland, Lieut., in America, ii. 341.  
 Geary, Adm. F., in command of the Channel Fleet, i. 379.  
 Geneste, Lieut., at Hango, iii. 363.  
 Genoese allies of the French, i. 11, 13-18.  
 George I. is alarmed at the Czar's plans, i. 170; dies, 175.  
 George, Prince, made Lord High Admiral, i. 126; dies, 160.  
 George II., his bitterness against Byng, i. 248.  
 Gibraltar, capture of, i. 188; besieged by Phillip V., 174.  
 Gibson, Commander, in China, iii. 485.  
 Giffard, Capt., death of, iii. 267.  
 Giffard, Capt., in the Black Sea, iii. 329.  
 Giffard, Commander, in China, iii. 388.  
 Gillespie, Col., ii. 473.  
 Gilford, Lord, in China, iii. 437.  
 Glasse, Capt., at Galma Carleby, iii. 258; at Svanborg, 375.  
 Godolphin, Lord, superseded by Harley, i. 165.  
 Godwin, General in Burmah, iii. 180.  
 Gondomar, i. 51.  
 Goodall, Admiral, second in command, Mediterranean, i. 463.  
 Gordon, Capt., afterwards Sir J., ii. 474; action of, 480: in America, iii. 308.  
 Gore, Capt., with Cook, i. 333.  
 Gore, Capt. J., i. 471; with Spanish frigates, ii. 152; in India, iii. 382.  
 Gould, Capt., i. 468.  
 Gould, Capt., ii. 79.  
 Gough, Sir H., in China, iii. 898.  
 Gower, Capt. L., ii. 198; made prisoner by the French, 250.  
 Graham, Brigadier-General, ii. 156; at Walcheren, 431.  
 Graham, Lieut., in the Black Sea, iii. 829.  
 Granger, Capt. W., ii. 155.  
 Grant, Commodore, in Burmah, iii. 171.  
 Gravelines, battle of, Spaniards aided by English fleet, i. 24.  
 Graves, Vice-Admiral, second in command of Channel fleet, i. 434; at Copenhagen, ii. 179.  
 Green, Lieut., at Rangoon, iii. 172.  
 Grenfell, Lieut. S., in Syria, iii. 244.  
 Grenville, Sir John, surrenders at St. Mary's to Blake, 61.  
 Grey, Capt. G., at St. Vincent, ii. 6.  
 Griffin, Admiral, blockades Duplex in Pondicherry, i. 222; is succeeded by Boscawen, 227.  
 Griffith, Admiral, in America, iii. 85.  
 Griffiths, Capt., ii. 298.

## HAROLD.

- Grindall, Capt., i. 477; at Trafalgar, ii. 311.

## H.

- Haddock, Admiral, blockades Cadiz, i. 177; pursues Spaniards into the Mediterranean, 199; returns home from ill-health, 301.  
 Hall, Capt. W. H., in Baltic, iii. 293; in China, 390.  
 Hall, Capt. W. K., in China, iii. 428.  
 Hall, Capt., in Sea of Azov, iii. 347.  
 Hallowell, Capt., afterwards Sir B., ii. 78.  
 Hallowes, Lieut., in China, iii. 460.  
 Hamelin, Admiral (French), Commander-in-chief in Black Sea, iii. 376.  
 Hamilton, Lieut., in China, iii. 441.  
 Hamilton, Capt., at Navarino, iii. 227.  
 Hamilton, Lieut., in Sea of Azov, iii. 351.  
 Hamilton, Capt., ii. 21; retakes the Hermione, 46.  
 Hammond, Capt., ii. 262.  
 Hammond, Capt. G., at Copenhagen, ii. 176.  
 Hand, Capt., in China, iii. 483.  
 Hancock, Capt., is lost off Scilly, i. 152.  
 Hardicanute, his galley, i. 6; is said to have made a treaty with the King of Norway, *ib.*  
 Harding, James, seaman, gallant conduct of, ii. 104.  
 Hardinge, Capt., ii. 266; gallant exploit of, 267.  
 Hardy, Capt., at Rangoon, iii. 172.  
 Hardy, Capt., brings Rooke information, i. 128; takes a squadron of merchantmen, 166; succeeds Koppel, 355.  
 Hardy, Capt. C., iii. 76.  
 Hardy, Capt., afterwards Sir T., cuts out the Mutine, ii. 84; at Copenhagen, 181; at Trafalgar, 311; in America, iii. 30.  
 Hardyman, Lieut., ii. 150, 427.  
 Hargood, Capt., captured by the Concorde, i. 410; at Trafalgar, ii. 317.  
 Harland, Admiral Sir B., in Channel fleet, i. 345.  
 Harland, Capt., under Hawke, i. 225.  
 Harley becomes Minister, i. 165.  
 Harman, Sir J. I. W., defeats French and Dutch, i. 97.  
 Harold, Harfager, is slain at Stanford Bridge, i. 7.  
 Harold, King, defeats Harold Harfager, i. 7; is slain, *ib.*

## HARPER.

- Harper, Capt., in Mediterranean.  
 Harrington, Lieut., ii. 157.  
 Harris, Capt., destroys Malay pirates, ii. 469.  
 Harvey, Admiral Sir H., ii. 294.  
 Harvey, Capt. Eliab (afterwards Admiral), at Trafalgar, ii. 312; second in Command at Aix, ii. 418.  
 Harvey, Capt. J., off Boulogne, ii. 492.  
 Haskell, Lieut., in China, iii. 399.  
 Hastings, defeated by Alfred, i. 4.  
 Hastings, Capt., in the Black Sea, iii. 331.  
 Hatley, Capt., ii. 419.  
 Hawke, Lord, distinguishes himself in Matthews's action, i. 210; defeats a French squadron, 224; supersedes Byng, 240; defeats Confians, 275.  
 Hawkins, Sir John, at first a slave-trader, i. 24; third in command against the Armada, 36 seq.; second in command to Drake in America, 44.  
 Hay, Commander, J. O. D., destroys a flotilla of pirates in the Gulf of Tonquin, iii. 153.  
 Hay, Lieut., in China, iii. 399.  
 Hayes, Capt. G., in Basque Roads, ii. 409.  
 Heath, Commander in the Peiho, iii. 476.  
 Henrietta, Queen, fired on by Batten, i. 58.  
 Henry II. turns his attention to the navy, i. 7; invades Ireland, *ib.*; is master of all the coast of France, 8.  
 Henry III., first victory in the open sea gained in his reign, i. 9.  
 Henry VII. employs Sir John Cabot, i. 19; builds a fleet, 20.  
 Henry VIII. establishes an order of naval officers, i. 21.  
 Herbert, Capt. T., in China, iii. 391 et passim.  
 Herbert, Capt., Hon. C., ii. 65.  
 Hervey, Capt., off Martinique, i. 299.  
 Hewett, Lieut., in the Naval Brigade, iii. 283; in the Sea of Azov, 343.  
 Hesse, Prince of, commands the troops against Gibraltar, i. 187; is made Governor of Gibraltar, 143.  
 Hewlett, Capt., at Bomarsund, iii. 308; at Sveaborg, 315.  
 Hicks, Capt., at Gibraltar, i. 138.  
 Hillyar, Capt., iii. 462; on the South American coast, iii. 14.  
 Hillyar, Commander, at Lagos, iii. 213.  
 Hobson, Lieut., discovers traces of Franklin, iii. 109.  
 Holbourne, Admiral Lewis, under Boecawen, i. 234; misconduct of, 248.

## HOWE.

- Holmes, Admiral, North American station, i. 282.  
 Holmes, Sir R., defeats a Dutch fleet, i. 100.  
 Home, Capt. Sir J., in China, iii. 418.  
 Howard, Sir E., the first High-Admiral, i. 22; is drowned in battle, *ib.*; defeats Andrew Barton, *ib.*  
 Hood, Lord, second in command in West Indies, i. 370; in Mediterranean, 414; receives the surrender of Toulon, 415; at Corsica, 421.  
 Hood, Sir S., second in command in the Baltic, ii. 393.  
 Hood, Sir Alexander, Vice-Admiral third in command of Channel fleet, i. 436; (see Lord Bridport), 448.  
 Hope, Gen. Sir J., at Walcheren, ii. 431.  
 Hope, Capt. H., captures the President, iii. 17.  
 Hope, Capt., at Trafalgar, iii. 319.  
 Hope, Capt., afterwards Admiral Sir J., at Obligado, iii. 192; in China, 467 et seq.  
 Hoppner, Commander in Arctic Expedition, iii. 45.  
 Hopson, Gen., i. 280.  
 Hornby, Capt. P., ii. 476.  
 Horton, Lieut., in Sea of Azov, iii. 340.  
 Hosier, Admiral, his futile expedition against Porto Bello, i. 174.  
 Hoskins, Lieut., in China, iii. 459.  
 Host, Lieut., ii. 93.  
 Hoste, Capt., in the Mediterranean, ii. 475 et seq.  
 Hotham, Capt. C., in La Plata, iii. 191; at Gallinas, 209.  
 Hotham, Sir W., second in command in Mediterranean, i. 429; fights the French fleet, 469; Commander-in-chief, 463.  
 Hotham, Capt. H., ii. 340; destroys French frigates, 497.  
 Hougnart, French Capt., taken by Howe, i. 234.  
 Howard, Lord of Effingham, Lord-High Admiral, i. 32; his remonstrances to Elizabeth, 33; he refuses to disband his fleet, 36; is made Earl of Nottingham, 43; sails against Cadiz, 46.  
 Howe, Lord, takes the Alcide, i. 234; serves under Hawke, 250; co-operates with Marlborough, 266; co-operates with Bligh, and destroys Cherbourg, 267; co-operates with his brother, Sir W. Howe, on the Delaware, 337; commands Channel fleet, 432; defeats the French, 441; suppresses the mutiny, ii. 14.  
 Howe, Gen. Sir W., i. 337.

## MURKET.

- Hubert de Burgh, Governor of Dover, i. 9; defeats the French fleet, 10.  
 Hudson, Lieut., in Sea of Azov, iii. 346.  
 Hudson, Capt., deserts Benbow, i. 183.  
 Huguenots, hold out Rochelle against Louis XIII., i. 56; our sailors refuse to act against them, *ib.*  
 Hughes, Sir R., in West Indies, i. 396.  
 Hughes, Admiral Sir E., in India, i. 400.  
 Hunter, Capt., ii. 221.  
 Huntingdon, Earl of, i. 14.  
 Hutchinson, Gen., ii. 198.  
 Huxham, Lieut., iii. 486.

## I, J.

- Jacob, Lieut., at Mocha, iii. 167.  
 Jamaica, Marquis of, Governor of Sardinia, i. 156.  
 James I. makes peace with Spain, i. 49; applies himself to ship-building, 50.  
 James II., as Duke of York, accompanies his brother in an attempt to rescue Charles I., i. 58; is made Lord High Admiral, 87; defeats the Dutch fleet, 89; urges the fortifying of the Thames, 95; becomes a Roman Catholic, 99; fights battle of Solebay, 101; resigns his command, 102; his troubled reign, 104; is driven from England, 105; returns to Ireland with a French fleet the next year, 107; his declaration, 112; proposes to invade England, 122; dies, 125.  
 Ibrahim Pasha, his cruelties in Greece, iii. 227; returns to Egypt, 233; his operations in Syria, 235; defeats the Sultan's army, 236.  
 Jenkins, Capt., his treatment by a Spanish captain, i. 176.  
 Jennings, Sir J., takes possession of Carthage, i. 148; commands in the North Sea, 169; prevents the Pretender from landing in Scotland, *ib.*; victuals Gibraltar, 174.  
 Jervis, Sir John (afterwards Lord St. Vincent), in Channel fleet, i. 345; at Martinique, 455; takes command of the Mediterranean fleet, 472; defeats the Spanish fleet, ii. 4; quells a mutiny, 23; strikes his flag, 121.  
 Inglefield, Rear-Admiral, in La Plata, iii. 190.  
 Inglefield, Capt., in Rodney's action, i. 385.  
 Inman, Capt. G., at Copenhagen, ii. 179.  
 Jones, Capt., ii. 212.  
 Jones, Capt. L., at Lagos, iii. 209; in

## KUPER.

- the Black Sea and Odessa, 266; in China, ii. 472.  
 Jones, Lieut., in China, iii. 463.  
 Jones, Brigadier-General, at Bomarsund, ii. 304.  
 John, King, takes care of the navy, i. 8.  
 Johnson, Commodore, co-operates with Gen. Meadows at the Cape, i. 397.  
 Johnson, Capt., ii. 448.  
 Johnston, Major, in China, ii. 398.  
 Ireland invaded by Henry II., i. 7.  
 Irvine, Lieut., iii. 25.  
 Irwin, Capt., at St. Vincent, ii. 6.  
 Jumper, Capt., at Gibraltar, i. 188.

## K.

- Kearney, Major, killed in China, iii. 443.  
 Keating, Col., ii. 449.  
 Keele, Lieut., in Burmah, iii. 176.  
 Kellet, Capt., in search of Franklin, iii. 89; second voyage, 99; in Burmah, 178; in China, 392.  
 Kempensfelt, Capt., on Indian station, i. 296; off Brest, 379; death of, 392.  
 Kennedy, Commander, in Sea of Azov, iii. 340.  
 Kenney, Lieutenant, in China, iii. 489.  
 Keppel, Admiral, co-operates with Hodgson, i. 283; second in command at the Havannah, 292; commands Channel fleet, 344; court-martial on, 350.  
 Keppel, Sir H., in Borneo, iii. 72; in the Crimea, 351; in China, 436.  
 Kerr, Capt., at Aix, ii. 427.  
 Keshen, Chinese Minister, iii. 389.  
 Key, Lieut., afterwards Capt., at Obligado, iii. 197; in the Baltic, 297.  
 Killegrew, Admiral, his energy in the Mediterranean, i. 109; under Russell, 110.  
 Killegrew, Capt., killed in action, i. 121.  
 King, Capt., at Trafalgar, ii. 311.  
 King, Capt. Sir R., captures two vessels, ii. 114.  
 Kingsmill, Admiral, Commander on Irish station, ii. 66.  
 Kirby, Capt., deserts Benbow, i. 182.  
 Knerit, Sir T., slain in battle, i. 22.  
 Knowles, Capt. Sir C., at St. Vincent, ii. 6.  
 Knowles, Commander, attacks Spanish settlements in the Caraccas, i. 205; fails at Cuba, 229; takes Port Louis, *ib.*; fails in an attack on a Spanish fleet, 230; is reprimanded by a court-martial, 231.  
 Kuper, Capt., in China, iii. 386.

LAFOREY.

L.

- Laforey, Capt. Sir Francis, ii. 62; at Trafalgar, 312.  
 Lambert, Commander R., in Burmah, iii. 186.  
 Lambert, Commodore, in Burmah, iii. 180.  
 Lambert, Lieut., in Sea of Azov, iii. 350.  
 Lambert, Capt., at Copenhagen, ii. 179; takes French frigate, *Psyche*, 348; at Jacotol, 450; gallant death of, iii. 7.  
 Langdon, Capt., i. 261.  
 Larkin, Capt., gallantry of, ii. 356.  
 Lauriston, Gen., ii. 276.  
 Laurie, Capt. Sir R., gallant conduct of, ii. 347.  
 Lawford, Capt., at Copenhagen, ii. 179.  
 Lawrence, Capt., in Syria, iii. 245.  
 Lawson, Sir I., third in command to Blake, i. 69; breaks the Dutch line, 73; under Monk, 75; is made Vice-Admiral, 77; his services at the Restoration, 87; second in command to Sandwich, 87, 89; killed in battle, 90.  
 Leake, Sir John, i. 127; takes merchantmen in West Indies, 130; succeeds Rooke in the Mediterranean, 143; baffles an attempt to recover Gibraltar, 144; takes Alicante, 148; takes Majorca and Iviça, 149; takes Sardinia, 156; and Minorca, 157.  
 Leckie, Commander, in China, iii. 442.  
 Lede, Marquis de, takes Messina, i. 173.  
 Le Grandière, Capt., (French), at Petropaulovski, iii. 329.  
 Lestock, Admiral, distinguishes himself in the West Indies, i. 181; succeeds Haddock, 201; becomes second in command to Matthews, *ib.*; their quarrels, *ib.*; he is detached off Toulon, 202; his energy, *ib.*; his misconduct in battle, 209; his trial and acquittal, 213; is re-employed, 215.  
 Le Tellier, a French officer in the service of the Sultan, iii. 230.  
 Levinge, Lieut., at Obligado, iii. 194.  
 Levison, Sir E., expedition against Carimbra, i. 47.  
 Lewis, Capt., ii. 138.  
 Liddiard, Capt., ii. 383.  
 Liddon, Lieut., in Arctic Expedition, iii. 45.  
 Lindsey, Lord, fails to relieve Rochelle, i. 57.  
 Linzee, Capt. H. S., at Copenhagen, ii. 179.

VOL. III.

MARTIN.

- Labourdonnaix, French Admiral, Governor of the Mauritius, i. 220; his successor off Madras, 222.  
 Liprandi, Gen. (Russian), attacks Omar Pasha, iii. 329.  
 Lisle, Capt., serves under Boscawen against Pondicherry, i. 228.  
 Lock, Capt., in Burmah, iii. 184.  
 Lock, Capt., bombards Mocha, iii. 166.  
 Lockyer, Commander M., in America, gallant exploit of, iii. 37.  
 Long, a captain in Matthews's action, i. 210.  
 Loring, Capt., in the Black Sea, iii. 268.  
 Loring, Capt., ii. 248.  
 Losack, Capt., ii. 468.  
 Louis, Capt., R.M., in Baltic, iii. 367.  
 Louis, Prince, afterwards Louis VIII. wars in England, i. 9.  
 Louis XIII. borrows ships of James I., i. 56.  
 Louis XIV. encourages the Dutch against us, i. 95; co-operates with Charles II. to make the English turn Roman Catholics, 99; his indignation at the English Revolution, 106; he sends a fleet to aid James, 107; plans an invasion of England, 113; acknowledges James II.'s son as King, 125; his plans for the war, 135; dies, 168.  
 Lumley, Capt., at Mocha, iii. 167.  
 Lushington, Capt., organises the Naval Brigade, iii. 280, 330.  
 Luttrell, Capt., co-operates with Dalrymple, i. 354.  
 Lyons, Capt. E., in the Baltic, iii. 292; in the White Sea, 320; in the Sea of Azov, 335; is killed at Sebastopol, 341.  
 Lyons, Lieut. (afterwards Sir E.), at Marrack, ii. 470; in the Black Sea, iii. 264 et seq.  
 Lyster, Capt., at Lagos, iii. 209.

M.

- Maackensie, Lieut., at Kola, iii. 324; in Sea of Azov, 338.  
 Magnus claims the British throne i. 6.  
 Maitland, Capt., at Aix, ii. 427.  
 Maitland, Gen., ii. 167.  
 Maitland, Capt., at Borneo, iii. 146; in China, 411.  
 Malcolm, Capt. P., ii. 112; at Martinique, 442; in America, iii. 30.  
 Mann, Admiral, i. 471.  
 Mansel, Sir R., defeats a Spanish squadron, i. 47; attacks Algiers, 52.  
 Mansel, Commander, in Syria, iii. 243.  
 Mansfield, Capt., at Trafalgar, ii. 312.  
 Martin, Capt., in Syria, iii. 243.

## MARIA.

- Maria Theresa, Empress, attacked by Phillip V., i. 202.
- Malborough, Duke of, proscribed by James, i. 112; his object in keeping up communications with him, 119, note; is sent by Anne to Holland, 126; made Commander-in-chief, *ib.*
- Marshall, Capt., in Channel fleet, i. 344.
- Marshall, Capt., at Petropaulovski, iii. 327.
- Marryatt, Capt. F., in Burmah, iii. 171.
- Marryatt, Lieut., in sea of Azov, iii. 353; at Kinburn, 356.
- Martin, Admiral, Commander of Toulon fleet, i. 464.
- Martin, Commodore, takes Port Royal in Nova Scotia, i. 165.
- Martin, Capt., sent to intimidate the King of Naples, i. 203.
- Martin, Capt. Byam, takes the Tamise, i. 498; in the Baltic, ii. 393.
- Martin, Capt. G., at St. Vincent, ii. 5.
- Mary II., Queen, sends Lord Torrington orders to fight De Tourville, i. 109; her politic conduct as Regent, 112.
- Mason, Lieut., in China, iii. 386.
- Masta, are made in two pieces first in the reign of Elizabeth, i. 49.
- Matthews, Admiral, Commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, i. 201; his quarrels with Leestock, *ib.*; his general ability, 202; in battle with the French he fails through Leestock's misconduct, 209; is tried and convicted of misconduct, 214; injustice of the trial, *ib.*
- Maunsell, Capt., destroys Malay pirates, ii. 469.
- Maxwell, Major, ii. 438.
- Maxwell, Capt. M., action of, ii. 479.
- Mazarin, Cardinal, remonstrates against Blake's proceedings, i. 65.
- M'Bride, Capt., exploit of, i. 359.
- M'Cleverty, Lieut., in China, iii. 420.
- M'Clintock, Capt. L., Expedition in search of Franklin, iii. 99; second Expedition in the Fox, 107.
- M'Clure, Capt., Expedition in search of Franklin, iii. 91; discovers North-West Passage, 97.
- M'Killop, Lieut., at Kertch, iii. 335.
- M'Kinnon, Lieut., in the Parana, iii. 200.
- Meadows, Gen., i. 398.
- Mecham, Lieut., in Arctic Expedition, iii. 99.
- Medina, Sidonia, Duke of, commands the Armada, i. 34.
- Medley, Admiral, succeeds Matthews, i. 217.

## MOUNSEY.

- Mehemet Ali, revolts from the Sultan, iii. 233.
- Mends, Capt., ii. 230.
- Mends, Capt., at Odessa, iii. 266; in the Black Sea, 269 *et passim*.
- Mercer, a Scotch privateer, i. 16.
- Middleton, Capt., is sent to explore the North-West Passage, i. 200.
- Middleton, Capt., i. 484.
- Mighels, Admiral, takes Vigo, i. 173.
- Miller, Capt. R., ii. 9, 10; at St. Vincent, 6; death of, 145.
- Minns, Sir C., slain, i. 93.
- Milne, Capt., takes *La Vengeance*, ii. 171.
- Milne, Rear-Admiral, in Mediterranean, iii. 117.
- Minto, Lord, ii. 470.
- Mitchell, Admiral, second in command in North Sea, ii. 470.
- Mitchell, Mr., pilot of Admiral Codrington's fleet, iii. 229.
- Moharem Bey, Egyptian Admiral at Navarino, iii. 229.
- Molines, Spanish Ambassador, arrested by the Emperor, i. 171.
- Molloy, Capt., with Rodney, i. 364.
- Molloy, Capt., court-martial on, i. 449.
- Moncada, Don Hugo de, taken prisoner in the Armada, i. 39.
- Monk, second in command to Blake, i. 67; commands troops on board the fleet, 69; again second in command to Blake, 72; defeats Van Tromp, 75; prohibits quarter, *ib.*; made Duke of Albemarle, defeated by De Ruyter, 91; resists De Ruyter on the Thames, 96.
- Monson, Sir W., expedition against Armada, i. 47.
- Montague, Capt., ii. 466.
- Montague, Admiral, puts into Plymouth, i. 449.
- Montalegre, Duke de, tries to cajole Captain Martin, i. 204.
- Montauban, Gen. (French), in China, iii. 482.
- Montgomery, Capt., i. 468.
- Montresor, Capt., on Lake Borgne, iii. 88.
- Moore, Commodore, off Martinique, i. 280.
- Moore, Capt., ii. 262.
- Moore, Capt., in the Black Sea, iii. 332.
- Moorson, Capt., at Trafalgar, ii. 312.
- Mordaunt, Gen. Sir J., i. 249; court-martial on, 251.
- Morris, Capt., ii. 285; at Trafalgar, 312.
- Mosse, Capt., ii. 71; at Copenhagen, 179.
- Mounsey, Capt., in Mediterranean, ii. 502.

## MOWBRAY.

- Mowbray, Capt., ii. 275.  
 Mudge, Capt., ii. 348.  
 Mundy, Capt., ii. 409.  
 Mundy, Capt. R., at Borneo, iii. 146.  
 Murray, Capt., at St. Vincent, ii. 5; at Copenhagen, 179.  
 Murray, Commander A., destroys slave establishments at Cape Mount, iii. 209.  
 Mutiny of the Bounty, i. 405; at Spithead, ii. 15; at the Nore, 19; on board the *Hermione*, 42; on board the *Danaë*, 172.

## N.

- Nachimoff, Admiral (Russian), destroys the Turkish fleet at Sinope, iii. 259; is killed at Sebastopol, 285.  
 Napier, Lord, British Commissioner, at Canton, iii. 382 et passim.  
 Napier, Capt., in China, iii. 413.  
 Napier, Capt. C. (afterwards Admiral), ii. 440; gallant exploit of, 443; in Mediterranean, 491; in America, iii. 30; Commodore in Syria, 237, &c.; Commander-in-chief in the Baltic, 238 et seq.  
 Narborough, Sir J., sent against Tripoli, i. 104.  
 Neale, Sir H., iii. 122.  
 Neale, Capt. Sir H., ii. 40.  
 Nelson, Lord, born, i. 269; co-operates with Major Polson, 369; joins Lord Hood's fleet, 417; at Corsica, 491; wounded at Bastia, 430; at St. Vincent, ii. 4; loses his arm at Teneriffe, 38; victorious at the Nile, 90; at Copenhagen, 184; off Boulogne, 209; Commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, 254; pursues Ville-neuve, 277; follows him to West Indies, 282; returns to England, 291; goes to Cadiz, 303; at Trafalgar, 311.  
 Neville, Admiral, second in command to Russell, i. 120; protects the West Indies, 122.  
 Newcastle, Duke of, his ignorance as Prime Minister, i. 215; his violence against Byng, 241.  
 Newcombe, Capt., ii. 428.  
 Newman, Capt., ii. 68.  
 Nicolas, Capt. J., in Mediterranean, ii. 501.  
 Nicholson, Sir F., is defeated at Petropaulovski, iii. 323; in China, 456.  
 Niel, Gen. (French) at Sveaborg, iii. 317.  
 Nile, battle of, ii. 190.  
 Nisbet, Lieut., ii. 39.  
 Norris, Sir J., Commander-in-chief in Mediterranean, i. 163; saves Sardinia, 164; gains advantages over

## OWEN.

- the French, 165; proceeds to the Baltic to act against Charles XII., 169; remonstrates with the Czar, 170; is sent again to the Baltic, 174; sails against the Spaniards, 198; commands the Channel fleet, 206;  
 Norris, Sir John, second in command to Drake, i. 44; takes Brest, 45.  
 Norris, Capt., burns a Spanish squadron at St. Tropez, i. 202; destroys a French squadron, 216.  
 Norman, Lieut., death of, ii. 454.  
 North, Capt., ii. 508.  
 Northesk, Lord, serves under Commander Barnett, i. 219; at Trafalgar, iii. 319.  
 Nottingham, Earl of, Secretary of State, i. 112; prosecuted by James, *ib.*  
 Nugent, Lieut., R.E., in the Baltic, iii. 303.
- O.
- O'Brien, Lieut., ii. 475.  
 O'Callaghan, Capt., in China, iii. 154, 432.  
 Ogle, Sir O., succeeds Vernon in West Indies, i. 205.  
 Olthere sails to the north, i. 4.  
 Olaf defeated by Harold's admirals, i. 7.  
 Oldfield, Capt. A., in the Mozambique, iii. 220.  
 Omar Pasha, at Eupatoria, iii. 331.  
 Ommanney, Capt., in the White Sea, iii. 319, 370.  
 Onslow, Admiral, second in command at Camperdown, ii. 50.  
 Opdam, killed in battle against Duke of York, i. 89.  
 Orange, Prince of, marries a daughter of Charles I., i. 61.  
 Orange, William of, invades England, i. 105 (see William).  
 Ord, Adm. Sir J., ii. 283; off Cadiz, 285.  
 Oribe, General, iii. 188.  
 Ormond, Duke of, proscribed by James, i. 112; sent against Cadiz, 127.  
 Ormsby, Commander, in China, iii. 417.  
 Osborn, Lieut. Sherard, iii. 90; in Arctic Expedition, 101; in the Sea of Azov, 332 seq.; in China, 462.  
 Osborne, Capt., ii. 152.  
 Osborne, Admiral, Commander in the Mediterranean, i. 264.  
 Oswald, Brigadier-General, ii. 413.  
 Osten Sacken, General, Governor of Odessa, iii. 267.  
 Otter, Capt., in the Baltic, iii. 306.  
 Otway, Capt., after Sir B., at Copenhagen, ii. 176.  
 Onseley, Mr. Gore, our Minister at Monto Video, iii. 189.  
 Owen, Capt. (afterwards Sir E.), ii. 270; off Boulogne, 252; at Walcheren, 431.



## PAGE.

## P.

- Paget, Lord C., in the Black Sea, iii. 334.  
 Paget, Lord, at Walcheren, ii. 431.  
 Pakenham, Capt., i. 432.  
 Pakenham, Gen. Sir E., death of, iii. 36.  
 Palliser, Sir H., in Channel fleet, i. 345; court-martial on, 350.  
 Palmer, Capt., gallant exploits of, ii. 510.  
 Parker, Adm. Sir Hyde, Commander-in-chief, Baltic, ii. 175.  
 Parker, Admiral Sir P., co-operates with Clinton, i. 335.  
 Parker, Admiral, afterwards Sir W., at St. Vincent, ii. 5.  
 Parker, Sir W., Commander-in-chief in China, iii. 336 et passim.  
 Parker, Capt. P., death of, ii. 212.  
 Parker, Capt., killed at the mouth of the Danube, iii. 273.  
 Parker, Capt., co-operates with Col. Campbell in the capture of Savannah, i. 340.  
 Parker, Capt. R.M., killed at Petropaulovski, iii. 324.  
 Parker, Mr., Consul at Canton, iii. 425.  
 Parma, Duke of, prepares to co-operate with the Armada, i. 32; is blockaded on the Scheldt, 33.  
 Parry, Capt., afterwards Sir E., first Arctic voyage, iii. 44; second voyage, 57; third voyage, 63.  
 Pasco, Lieut., ii. 316.  
 Patey, Lieut., in Syria, iii. 243.  
 Paulett, Lord Henry, Capt., captures the Gloire, i. 484; at Copenhagen, ii. 179.  
 Pearce, Lieut., in China, iii. 413.  
 Peel, Capt., afterwards Sir W., in the naval brigade in the Black Sea, iii. 285; organizes naval brigade in India, 445; dies, 447.  
 Pelham, Capt. Hon. F., at Bomarsund, iii. 315; at Sveaborg, 369.  
 Pelissier, Marshal, Commander-in-chief of French army, iii. 337.  
 Pellew, Capt. I., ii. 275; at Trafalgar, 311.  
 Pellew, Capt., afterwards Lord Exmouth, takes the Cleopatre, i. 412; off Brest, 462; off Betanques, ii. 255; Commander-in-chief on the Indian station, 253; commands in the Mediterranean, 447; takes Algiers, iii. 111.  
 Pellew, Capt. F., gallant exploit of, ii. 385.  
 Pellion, Rear-Admiral (French,) at Kinburn, iii. 357.

## POPHAM.

- Pelly, Capt., ii. 268.  
 Pembroke, Lord, succeeds Pr. George as Lord High Admiral, i. 160.  
 Penaud, Rear-Admiral (French), second in command in the Baltic, iii. 295; Commander-in-chief the second year, 364.  
 Penn, second in command to Blake, i. 62, 68, 71; to Monk, 74; made a Sea-general, 77; is sent against the Spanish West Indies, 79; fails at Hispaniola, and takes Jamaica, 81.  
 Pennington, Admiral, is sent to aid the French king against Rochelle, i. 55.  
 Penrose, Capt. R.M., in China, iii. 427.  
 Percy, Capt., in America, iii. 37.  
 Peter of Russia attacks Charles XII., i. 123; co-operates with us against Charles XII., 170; ravages Sweden on Charles's death, 173.  
 Peterborough, Lord, takes Barcelona, i. 147.  
 Pett, Phineas, employed by James I. as a ship-builder, i. 49; builds the Sovereign of the Seas, 56.  
 Peyton, Capt., his cowardice, i. 221; is superseded, 222.  
 Peyton, Capt., ii. 79.  
 Philip, Capt., ii. 221.  
 Philip II. of Spain, his hatred of Elizabeth, i. 25; cajoles her, 32.  
 Philip IV., his indignation at Cromwell's treachery, i. 83.  
 Philip V. lays siege to Gibraltar, i. 174; makes peace with Britain, 175; a tool in the hands of his Queen, 302; attacks Maria Theresa, ib.  
 Philip of France defeated at Sluys, i. 13.  
 Phillips, Lieut., ii. 265.  
 Phillimore, Capt., afterwards Sir J., takes the Clorinde, ii. 512.  
 Philpot, John, fits out a ship to defeat Mercer, i. 17.  
 Phipps, Sir W., takes Port Royal in Nova Scotia, i. 111.  
 Pierpoint, Capt. W., gallant exploit of, ii. 153.  
 Pigott, Admiral, i. 366.  
 Pigott, Capt. Hugh, ii. 41.  
 Pim, Lieut., in Arctic Expedition, iii. 99.  
 Plampin, Capt., ii. 386.  
 Plumridge, Rear-Admiral, in the Baltic, iii. 292 et passim.  
 Pocock, Sir G., serves under Sir J. Norris, i. 206; second in command on Indian station, 252; is sent to the Havannah, 285.  
 Popham, Admiral, under Blake, i. 58.  
 Popham, Capt., afterwards Sir H., ii. 60; at the Cape of Good Hope, 367; at Walcheren, 431; co-operates with Wellington, 516.

## POTTINGER.

- Pottinger, Sir H., Ambassador to China, iii. 400.  
 Powell, Col., iii. 446.  
 Pratt, Major, in China, iii. 391.  
 Preedy, Commander, at Sveaborg, iii. 373.  
 Preston, Capt., i. 493.  
 Price, Lieut., ii. 61.  
 Price, Rear-Admiral, suicide of, iii. 322.  
 Pring, Capt., iii. 28.  
 Pritchard, Capt., takes French merchantmen, i. 120.  
 Proby, Lord, on board the *Dana*, ii. 172.  
 Protêt, Rear-Admiral (French), in China, iii. 487; killed, 488.  
 Prowse, Capt., ii. 312; at Trafalgar, *ib.*  
 Puckinghorne, Lieut., iii. 18.  
 Pulteney, Gen. Sir J., ii. 165.  
 Purvis, Commodore, on South American station, iii. 189.  
 Pym, Capt., ii. 449; off the *Mauritius*, 455.

## R.

- Raby, Commander, at Porto Novo, iii. 219.  
 Rae, Dr., his discoveries, iii. 105.  
 Raglan, Lord, Commander-in-chief in the Crimea, iii. 273.  
 Rainier, Capt., gallant action of, ii. 385.  
 Rainier, Admiral, i. 482.  
 Rainsborough, commands the Parliament's fleet, i. 53; is deposed by his own sailors, *ib.*  
 Raleigh, Sir W., takes *Fayal*, i. 47; founds our first colony in North America, 48; expedition to South America, 50; execution, 51.  
 Ramsay, Capt., at Bomarsund, iii. 308.  
 Ramsay, Lieut., takes the *Marinero*, iii. 205.  
 Ranelagh, Capt. Lord, ii. 65.  
 Rason, Lieut., in China, iii. 474.  
 Raynor, Capt., gallantry of, i. 337.  
 Redwick, Capt., at Trafalgar, ii. 311.  
 Reeves, Capt., i. 468.  
 Regnaud, Capt. (French), in the *Peiho*, iii. 453.  
 Retalick, Capt., at Copenhagen, ii. 179.  
 Revolution of 1688, its effects on the navy, i. 405; on our relations with France, 106.  
 Reynolds, Admiral, sad fate of, ii. 491.  
 Rice, Lieut., in Burmah, iii. 185.  
 Richards, Capt., Expedition in search of Franklin, iii. 99.  
 Richards, Capt. P., in China, iii. 419.

## ROTHERHAM.

- Richards, Mr., killed at Lagos, iii. 211.  
 Richards, Gen., his brave defence of Alicante, i. 161.  
 Richelieu, Duke de, takes Minorca, i. 239.  
 Ricketts, Capt., gallant exploit of, ii. 41.  
 Riddell, Capt., displays great skill in convoying a merchant fleet, i. 160.  
 Riou, Capt., ii. 181; gallant death of, at Copenhagen, 185.  
 Roberts, Capt., on Lake Borgne, iii. 38.  
 Robinson, Capt., establishes a steam factory at Kertch, iii. 337.  
 Robinson, Capt., in Syria, iii. 246.  
 Rochembeau, Admiral, blockades our store-ships in the Tagus, i. 217.  
 Rochelle held out by Huguenots against Louis XIII., i. 56; Charles attempts to assist them, 57.  
 Rodd, Capt., ii. 427.  
 Rodney, Lord, under Sir J. Norris, i. 204; under Hawke, 225; bombards Havre, 271; defeats the Spanish fleet, 353; goes to the West Indies, 366; defeats De Grasse, 385.  
 Rodriguez, Gen., at Obligado, iii. 196.  
 Rolland, Commander, in China, iii. 423.  
 Rollo, Lord, i. 283.  
 Rooke, Sir G., his activity on the Irish coast, i. 108; serves under Russell, 110; second in command at La Hogue, 114; baffles De Tourville, 118; compels the Danes to submit, 124; is made Commander-in-chief, 126; destroys the fleet in Vigo Bay, 129; returns to England, 130; again takes the command, 136; takes Gibraltar, 138; defeats French at Malaga, 141; returns to England, 143; is superseded, 145; his friends compare him to Marlborough, *ib.*; dies, *ib.*  
 Roquesfeuille, Admiral (French), is baffled by Sir J. Norris, i. 207.  
 Roquelaine, Duke of, retakes Cetta, i. 164.  
 Rosas, Gen., Dictator of Buenos Ayres iii. 188.  
 Rose, Capt., gallant exploit of, ii. 210.  
 Ross, Capt., afterwards Sir John, first Arctic voyage, iii. 44; second voyage, 67.  
 Ross, Lieut., in Sea of Azov, iii. 350.  
 Ross, Lieut., afterwards Sir James, in Parry's Expedition, iii. 66; in Capt. John Ross's Expedition, 67; commands an Expedition to the South Seas, 78; in search of Franklin, 89.  
 Rotherham, Capt., at Trafalgar, ii. 118.

## BOWE.

- Rowe, in the *Dolphin*, at *Obligado*, iii. 195.  
 Rowley, Admiral, distinguishes himself in *Matthew's* action, i. 209; succeeds *Matthews*, 217.  
 Rowley, Commodore, ii. 448.  
 Royal George, loss of, at *Spithead*, i. 389.  
 Buddach, Capt., ii. 40.  
 Rundle, Capt., at *Obligado*, iii. 197.  
 Rupert appointed Admiral by *Charles II.*, i. 57; is blockaded at *Kinsale* by *Blake*, but escapes to *Spain*, 58; takes refuge in *France*, 59; with the Duke of *York* defeats the Dutch fleet, 80; his energy in joining *Monk*, 92.  
 Russell, Admiral, succeeds Lord *Torrington*, i. 110; wavers in his loyalty, 112; entreats *James* to publish an amnesty, *ib.*; defeats *De Tourville* at *La Hogue*, 113; is superseded, 116; is restored to the command, 119; his great success, 121.  
 Rutherford, Capt., at *Trafalgar*, ii. 309.  
 Buyter, de, i. 93; succeeds Duke of *York* as Commander-in-chief, 102.  
 Ryswic, peace of, i. 122.  
 Ryves, Commander, in *Burmah*, iii. 176.  
 Ryves, Mate, in *China*, iii. 404.

## S.

- Sabine, Capt., of Engineers, in *Arctic Expedition*, iii. 45.  
 Saladin, his fleet defeated by *Richard*, i. 8.  
 Salinas, Don D., Governor of *Gibraltar*, i. 137.  
 Salisbury, Earl of, commands *John's* fleet, i. 1; defeats the French at *Dam*, 9.  
 Sancroft, Archbishop, refuses the oath of supremacy, i. 112.  
 Sandwich is burnt by the French, i. 10.  
 Sandwich, Earl of (at first Admiral *Montagu*), second in command to *Blake*, i. 93; his services at the *Restoration*, 86; attacks *Algiers*, 87; breaks the Dutch lines, 89; sent as ambassador to *Madrid*, 91; killed at *Solebay*, 102.  
 Santa Cruz, Marquis de, dies, i. 84; his cautious character, *ib.*  
 Saradine, Capt., gallant exploit of, ii. 213.  
 Sardinia, Duke of *Savoy*, exchanges with the Emperor for *Sicily*, and takes the title of King, i. 173.

## SHOVEL.

- Sarsfield, Gen., defends *Limerick*, i. 110.  
 Saumarez, Capt., under *Hawke*, i. 226.  
 Saumarez, Capt., Sir J., at *St. Vincent*, ii. 5; at *Algeiras*, 200; Commander-in-chief in the *Baltic*, 391.  
 Saunders, Sir C., under *Hawke*, i. 226; supersedes *Weest*, 240.  
 Saus, M. de, takes some English merchantmen, i. 166.  
 Savoy, Duke of, projects an attack on *Toulon*, i. 150; takes the title of King of *Sardinia*, 173.  
 Saxe, Marshal, prepares to invade *England*, i. 206; overruns *Flanders*, 215.  
 Saxons not addicted to maritime pursuits, i. 2.  
 Sayer, Capt., captures the *Lynx*, ii. 389.  
 Schomberg, Capt., captures the *Renommée*, ii. 464; recaptures *Tamatave*, 465.  
 Schomberg, Capt., B.M.A., at *Sveaborg*, iii. 372.  
 Schomberg, Lieut., in *Syria*, iii. 249.  
 Scott, Capt. F., at *Abo*, iii. 316.  
 Scott, Capt., in *China*, iii. 390.  
 Scott, Capt., serves under *Hawke*, i. 225.  
 Sedaiges, Capt. (French), in *Sea of Azov*, iii. 331.  
 Seissan, Gen., takes *Cette*, i. 164.  
 Selkirk, Alex., i. 187.  
 Senhouse, Sir H. F., in *China*, iii. 391; dies, 403.  
 Serle, Capt., exploit of, i. 499.  
 Seymour, Lord H., joins Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, i. 81.  
 Seymour, Sir H., our Ambassador at *St. Petersburg*, iii. 257.  
 Seymour, Commodore, afterwards Vice-Admiral Sir *Michael*, Captain of the fleet in the *Baltic*, iii. 301; second in command, 353; in *China*, 425 et passim.  
 Seymour, Capt. G., at *Sveaborg*, iii. 378.  
 Seymour, Commander, in the *White Sea*, iii. 320.  
 Seymour, Capt. G., off *Aix*, ii. 425.  
 Seymour, Capt., afterwards Sir M., captures the *Thetis*, ii. 399; at *Walcheren*, 431; captures the *Niemen*, 444; off *St. Malo*, 511.  
 Shadwell, Commander C., in *Burmah*, iii. 184; on the *Poiho*, 472.  
 Shipley, Capt., ii. 268.  
 Shovel, Sir C., commands a boat attack at *Tripoli*, i. 104; is knighted for *Bantry Bay*, 108; succeeds Sir G. Rooke in the *Irish Seas*, 110; his

## SICILY.

- energy and success, *ib.*; third in command at La Hogue, 114; bombards Calais, 120; brings Rooke a reinforcement, 130; his success off Spain, 134; nearly lost in a storm, *ib.*; joins Rooke against Gibraltar, 136; succeeds Rooke as Commander-in-chief, 146; his skill, *ib.*; is lost off Scilly, 152.
- Sicily made over to the Emperor in exchange for Sardinia, i. 173.
- Sinclair, Lieut., ii. 116.
- Skinner, Capt., ii. 5.
- Slaughter, Lieut., ii. 475.
- Sluys, battle of, i. 13.
- Smith, Col. Sir C., in Syria, iii. 237.
- Smith, Capt. H., in China, iii. 388.
- Smith, Capt. Sir Sidney, at Toulon, i. 417; off Brest, 462; gallant exploit of, 496; captured by the French, 497; escapes from captivity, ii. 106; at Acre, 139; in the Dardanelles, 164.
- Smith, Lieut., ii. 171; gallant exploit of, 172.
- Smith, Lieut., ii. 512.
- Smith, Mr. W., gallantry of, iii. 12.
- Somerville, Capt., ii. 211.
- Sotheby, Capt., organises Naval Brigade of the Pearl, iii. 445.
- Spencer, Capt., ii. 466.
- Spragge, Sir E., nearly takes Van Tromp, i. 94; under Monk, 96; defeats de Ruyter, *ib.*; chastises the Algerines, 97; second in command to Rupert, 102; killed, 103.
- Spranger, Capt., ii. 413.
- Spratt, Capt., surveys the coast of the Black Sea, iii. 334.
- St. Arnaud, Marshal, iii. 576.
- St. Clair, Gen., fails in attack upon Port l'Orient, i. 215.
- St. John, Capt., with Rodney, i. 362.
- St. John, H., becomes Minister, i. 165.
- St. Paul, Count of, succeeds Du Bart, i. 146; takes a squadron of merchantmen and is killed, *ib.*
- St. Vincent, battle of, ii. 4.
- Stanhope, Gen., co-operates with Leake against Minorca, i. 157; approves of the attack on Cetta, 164; mediates between the Empire and Spain, 171.
- Stavely, Brigadier-Gen., in China, iii. 483.
- Stayner, Capt., takes Spanish galleons, i. 84; aids Blake at Santa Cruz, 85; is knighted for his services at the Restoration, 87.
- Stephens, Capt., at Copenhagen, ii. 177.
- Stevens, Admiral, succeeds Pocock, and co-operates with Gen. Sir E. Coote, i. 280.

## THOMAS.

- Stevens, Mr. Boatwain, gallantry of, iii. 11.
- Stewart, Col. W., ii. 179.
- Stewart, Capt., takes the Badere-Zaffer, ii. 898.
- Stewart, Capt. K., in China, iii. 428.
- Stewart, Capt., at Sveaborg, iii. 378.
- Stewart, Capt., afterwards Rear-Admiral Sir H., at Acre, iii. 251; second in command in the Black Sea, 330; at Sebastopol, 354.
- Stewart, Lieut., in Baltic, iii. 370.
- Stirling, Capt., ii. 110; off Rochfort, ii. 297.
- Stirling, Sir James, on the Chinese coast, iii. 322.
- Stopford, Capt., afterwards Sir R., ii. 275; Commander-in-chief in Mediterranean, iii. 235; goes to Alexandria, 238; bombards Acre, ii. 245.
- Stopford, Commander, in Syria, iii. 240.
- Storey, Capt., in Baltic, iii. 370.
- Strachan, Capt. Sir Richard, ii. 62; despatched to Cadiz, 261; off Cape Finisterre, 340; victorious over Dumanoir, 341; Commander-in-chief at Walcheren, 431.
- Sirode, Lieut., in Sea of Azov, iii. 346.
- Stuart, Gen. Sir J., ii. 413.
- Stuart, Lord W., at Walcheren, ii. 431.
- Swanton, Commodore, i. 296.
- Suckling, Capt., i. 260.
- Sullivan, Capt. J. B., at Colonia, iii. 191; at Obligado, 200; in Baltic, 294 et passim; 360 et passim.
- Sutton, Capt., i. 491; at St. Vincent, ii. 5; at Copenhagen, 179.
- Sutton, Capt., at the Cape, i. 396.

## T.

- Talbot, Capt., recaptures the Cleopatra, and takes the Ville de Milan, ii. 348.
- Talbot, Lieut., ii. 428.
- Talmass, Gen., killed at Brest, i. 119.
- Tarleton, Capt., in Burmah, iii. 182.
- Tatham, Capt., in the Black Sea, iii. 267.
- Taylor, John, seaman, gallant conduct of, ii. 106.
- Temple, Lord, recommends the King to pardon Byng, i. 244.
- Temple, Sir W., negotiates the Tripl Alliance, i. 98.
- Thesiger, Capt. Sir F., ii. 186.
- Thiers, M., Prime Minister of France, iii. 237.
- Thomas, Capt., in Mediterranean, ii. 501.

## THOMPSON.

- Thompson, Admiral, at St. Vincent, ii. 5.  
 Thompson, Capt. Sir T. B., at the Nile: ii. 79, 98; at Copenhagen, 179.  
 Thornborough, Capt., ii. 65.  
 Tillotson, Bishop, proscribed by James, i. 112.  
 Todd, Capt., fate of, ii. 162.  
 Tollet, Capt., displays great skill conveying a merchant fleet, i. 159.  
 Torcy, M. de, French Minister, eager for peace, i. 165.  
 Torres, Count de las, besieges Gibraltar in vain, i. 174.  
 Torrington, Lord, as Admiral Herbert, chastises the Algerines, i. 98; joins William, 106; fights the French at Bantry Bay, 107; is made Lord Torrington, 108; behaves ill and is defeated at Beachy Head, 109; resigns the command, 110.  
 Tostig, i. 7.  
 Totty, Rear-Admiral, at Copenhagen, ii. 179.  
 Toulon, Louis XIV. establishes an arsenal there, i. 108.  
 Toulouse, Count de, defeated at Malaga, i. 141; fails to recover Barcelona, 148.  
 Tower, Capt., in Mediterranean, ii. 501.  
 Towry, Capt., i. 484; at St. Vincent, ii. 5.  
 Trafalgar, battle of, ii. 311.  
 Tréhouart, Capt. (French), at Obligado, iii. 193.  
 Tricault, Capt. W., in the Peiho, iii. 476.  
 Trollope, Capt., ii. 49; in Channel fleet, 493.  
 Troubridge, Capt., Sir T., i. 492; gallantry at St. Vincent, ii. 4; at the Nile, 88; takes Capua, 133; in the Blenheim, 351; loss of, 354.  
 Troubridge, Capt., gallantry of, ii. 363; in America, iii. 39.  
 Troubridge, Commander E., in China, iii. 420.  
 Tucker, Capt., gallantry of, ii. 467; on South-American coast, iii. 14.  
 Tudor, Lieut., in China, iii. 420.  
 Tunis attacked by Blake, i. 79.  
 Turnour, Commander, in China, iii. 439.  
 Tyler, Capt., C., at Trafalgar, ii. 311.

## U.

- Ulrica, succeeds Charles XII., cedes Bremen, &c., to Hanover, i. 173.  
 Underdown, Capt., injures the French in Newfoundland, i. 154.

## WAGNER.

- Usher, Capt., co-operates with Ballasteros, ii. 516.  
 Utrecht, peace of, i. 168.

## V.

- Valdez, a Spanish Admiral, in the Armada, i. 37.  
 Vancouver, Capt., voyage of discovery, i. 404.  
 Van Galen, defeated by Commodore Rodley, i. 65; defeats an English squadron and is killed, 71.  
 Van Straubensee, Gen., in China, iii. 451.  
 Vansittart, Capt. N., in the Baltic, iii. 365; in China under Sir W. Parker, 414; defeats pirates, 434; is killed at the Peiho, 478.  
 Van Tromp, C., succeeds to the command on Opdam's death, i. 89; nearly taken prisoner, 94; his conflict with Spragge, 108.  
 Van Tromp is defeated by Blake, i. 61; is unable to gain any advantage over Sir G. Ayacough, 62; is superseded by De Ruyter, 63; defeats Blake, 66; cruises about the Channel, 68; defeated by Blake, 69; cannonades Dover, 72; is defeated by Blake, 74; is killed, 75.  
 Vauban, fortifies Brest, i. 119.  
 Vaughan, Lieut., in India, iii. 445.  
 Vedel, Lieut. (French), in Sea of Azov, iii. 350.  
 Venables, Col., commands troops on board the fleet, i. 78.  
 Vendôme, Duke de, taken prisoner by Blake, i. 63.  
 Vernon, Admiral, takes Porto Bello, i. 178; fails in an expedition against the Spaniards on the mainland, 179; quarrels with Gen. Wentworth, 182; libels the Admiralty and is dismissed the service, 183; commands in the Downs at the time of the Rebellion, 218.  
 Victoria, Queen, visits the Baltic fleet, iii. 292; her letter to Sir E. Lyons, 341 note; visits the second Baltic fleet, 359.  
 Villadarias, M. de, besieges Gibraltar, i. 144; refuses to besiege it, 174.  
 Villiers, Lieut., in China, iii. 437.  
 Vincent, Capt., deserts Benbow, but repents, and is pardoned, i. 132.

## W.

- Wade, Capt., deserts Benbow, i. 132.  
 Wagers, Sir C., successful off South America, i. 161; is sent to the Baltic, 174.

## WALCHEREN.

- Walcheren, expedition to, ii. 431.  
 Walcot, Capt., captures the *Zaragonesa*, iii. 127.  
 Waldegrave, Hon. Admiral, at St. Vincent, ii. 5.  
 Walker, Sir Hovenden, fails in an attempt on Canada, i. 166.  
 Walker, Capt., at Copenhagen, ii. 179.  
 Walker, Capt. B., commands the Turkish fleet, iii. 242.  
 Walker, Commander, his success in the West Indies, i. 134.  
 Walker, Lieut., gallant death of, ii. 174.  
 Wall, Master, in China, iii. 417.  
 Wallace, Capt., afterwards Sir J., i. 305; exploit of, 352.  
 Waller, Capt., ii. 34.  
 Walpole, Sir R., his fondness for peace, i. 175; his ministry is overthrown, 200.  
 Walton, Sir G., behaves well in Benbow's action, i. 132; destroys a Spanish squadron, 172.  
 Ward, Col., in China, iii. 487.  
 Warden, Capt., in Gulf of Bothnia, iii. 370.  
 Warren, Commander in China, iii. 388.  
 Warren, Admiral, takes Cape Breton, i. 222; serves under Anson, 223; off Brest, 261; on American coast, 324.  
 Warwick, Earl of, Admiral for the Parliament, i. 56; repels Charles II., 57.  
 Watkins, Lieut., gallant conduct of, i. 483.  
 Watson, Admiral, commands in India, i. 251.  
 Watson, Capt., in the Baltic, iii. 296, 358; in China, 391.  
 Watson, Capt., serves under Hawke, i. 225.  
 Watt, Lieut., gallant death of, iii. 12.  
 Webley, Capt., gallant exploit of, ii. 394.  
 Wellesley, Capt. G., at Sveaborg, iii. 375.  
 Wemyss, Capt., R.M.A., at Sveaborg, iii. 372.  
 Wentworth, Gen., his quarrels with Admiral Vernon, and failure of the expedition against the Spaniards in the Isthmus of Darien, i. 181.  
 West, Capt., ii. 405.  
 West, Admiral, second in command to Byng at Minorca, i. 288.  
 Westcott, Capt., ii. 79.  
 Westphal, Capt., gallant action of, iii. 19.  
 Walley, Gen., fails in an attempt on Canada, i. 111.  
 Wheatstone, Admiral, commands in West Indies, i. 153.

## YOUNGHUSBAND.

- Whitaker, Capt., at Gibraltar, i. 138; commander in the Mediterranean, 157.  
 Whithed, Capt., afterwards Sir J., at St. Vincent, ii. 5.  
 Wildman, Lieut., in China, iii. 437.  
 Wilkes, Lieut. (American Navy), in South Seas, iii. 74.  
 Willes, Capt., in China, iii. 472.  
 Willes, Lieut., ii. 413.  
 William the Conqueror gains the kingdom, i. 7; neglects the navy, *ib.*  
 William III., his character, i. 123; makes alliance with Charles XII., *ib.*; acknowledges Duke of Anjou as King of Spain, 125; prepares to renew war against Louis, *ib.*; dies, 126.  
 Williams, Admiral Sir J., co-operates with Gen. Hill, ii. 514.  
 Williamson, Capt., court-martial on, ii. 56.  
 Willoughby, Sir Hugh, frozen to death in an Arctic Expedition, i. 23.  
 Willoughby, Capt., gallant conduct of, ii. 448; exploit at Jacotol, 452; at the Mauritius, 455.  
 Wills, Gen., co-operates with Leake against Sardinia, i. 156.  
 Wilson, Capt., in China, iii. 430.  
 Winter, Sir W., one of Drake's comrades, i. 26; suggests burning the Armada with fireships, 38.  
 Wise, Capt. C., in West Africa, iii. 214; in China, 415.  
 Wise, Lieut., at Gamla Carleby, iii. 298.  
 Wolfe, Col., i. 250.  
 Wolfe, Capt., at Aix, ii. 427.  
 Wood, Capt., ii. 383.  
 Woodruff, Capt., ii. 346.  
 Woods, Mr., in the Peiho, iii. 479.  
 Worth, Capt., in Syria, iii. 245.  
 Wren, Capt., takes a French squadron in West Indies, i. 111.  
 Wright, Lieut., ii. 138; fate of, 252.  
 Wright, Capt., takes St. Kitts, i. 111.  
 Wrottesley, Lieut., R.E., killed at Bomarsund, iii. 316.

## Y.

- Yang, Chinese Minister, iii. 399.  
 Yeh, Chinese Minister, iii. 424.  
 Yelverton, Capt., in the Baltic, iii. 293 et passim; again the second year, 368 et passim.  
 Young, Capt. J., with Spanish frigates, ii. 152.  
 Young, Lieut., in Medea, iii. 447.  
 Younghusband, Capt., ii. 268.

**BILLING, PRINTER, OUELDFORD.**











APR 13 1925

~~MAR - 3 '55 H~~

DUE MAY 11 1925

DUE MAY 17 1926

DUE APR 25 1929

~~DUE JUL 26 '33~~

~~MAY 12 1934~~

~~DUE APR 14 '36~~

~~JAN 12 '54 H~~

